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IRVINGISM.

VOL. I.

THE
HISTORY AND DOCTRINES
OF
IRVINGISM,

OR OF THE
SO-CALLED CATHOLIC AND APOSTOLIC CHURCH.

BY
EDWARD MILLER, M.A.,
VICAR OF BUTLER'S MARSTON,
AND FORMERLY FELLOW AND TUTOR OF NEW COLLEGE, OXFORD.

IN TWO VOLS.—VOL. I.

LONDON :
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1878.

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CLAY AND TAYLOR, PRINTERS.

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TO
The Many Kind Friends,

KNOWN TO ME BEFORE OR UNKNOWN,

WHO

HAVE HELPED ME WITH ADVICE, INFORMATION, OR ENCOURAGEMENT,

These Pages are gratefully Inscribed,

WITH THE PRAYER

THAT THEY MAY BE MADE THE HUMBLE MEANS

OF LEADING SOME PEOPLE

INTO THE ENTIRE CIRCLE OF THE CATHOLIC FAITH

AND TO

CATHOLIC UNITY

IN

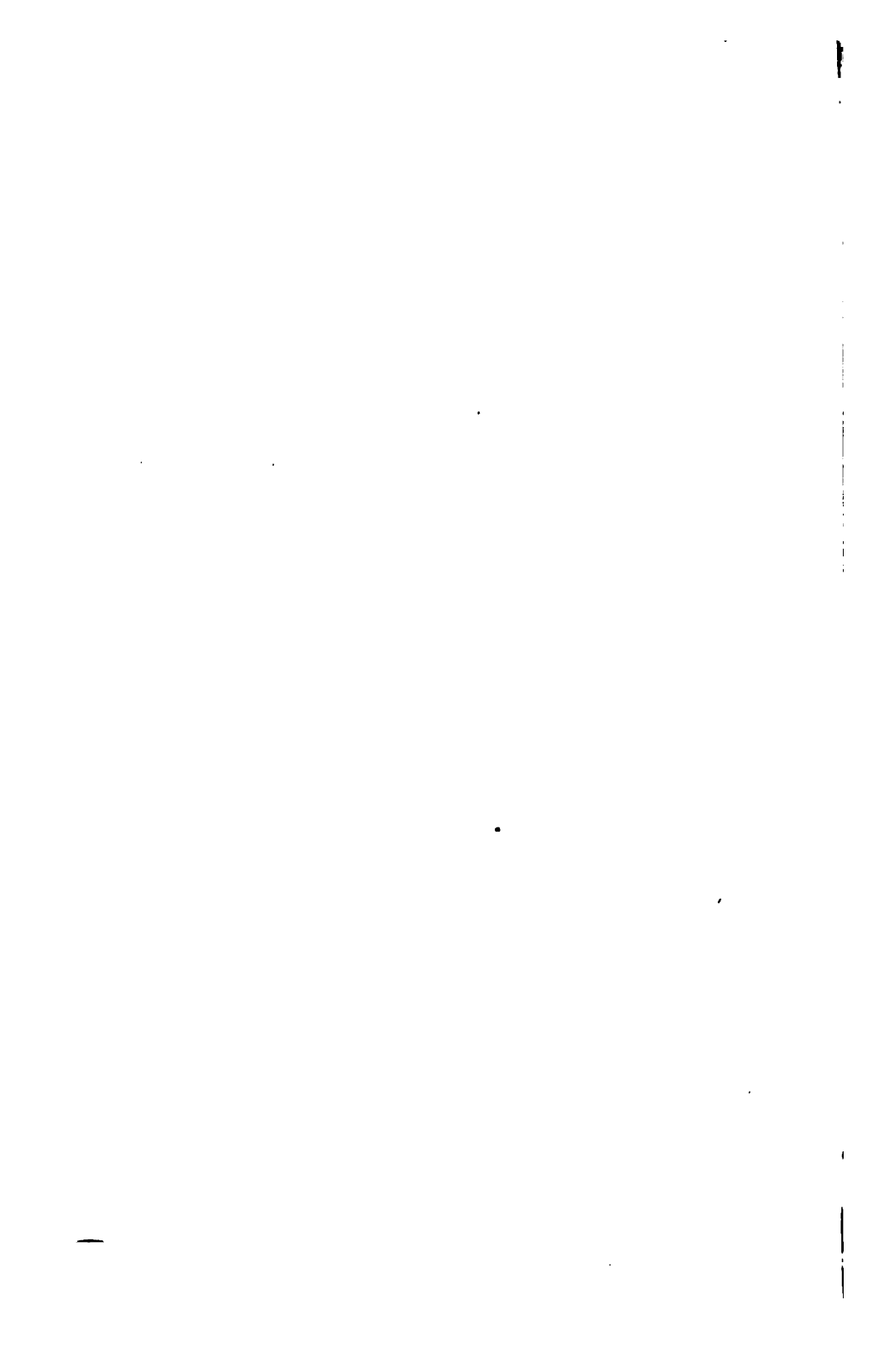
THE ONE HOLY APOSTOLIC CHURCH OF CHRIST.

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P R E F A C E .

THE present work arose out of the acceptance of the opinions generally known as Irvingite by Clergymen of the Church of England. Convinced after examination of their utter groundlessness, I was anxious, if I could, to make it for ever impossible that well-informed Clergymen,—or indeed well-informed Laymen,—should be thus led away from the teaching of the true Branch of the Church in this country. And at the same time it appeared to me that light would be shed from such a discussion upon the principles of the Church, inasmuch as controversy has ever brought out into relief the Doctrines delivered by our Lord.

I have wished also, if I should be enabled by the Grace of God, to become a means of bringing back from error some of those who, moved by a revulsion from narrow modes of apprehending the Truth, and actuated by the tendencies which have marked the present century towards Catholic Unity, and towards the length and breadth and depth and height of the

Catholic Faith in the Love of GOD, have wandered away from the true fold. There is, as I believe, too much good underlying their system and life, for us not to long that they should return into the oneness of the Faith. The Catholic Faith, if unfolded in all its comprehensive amplitude, includes the satisfaction of all genuine aspirations, the answer to every honest doubt. Indeed, doubts and perplexities in course of time illustrate the Truth, and unravel the knots which have been tied through human incompetence and unfaithfulness.

Having become possessed of various sources of information, both of a private nature and derived from the literature upon this subject, and being fearful of misrepresenting in any way the Religious Body whose history I was undertaking to narrate, I entered into communication with the late Mr. Cardale. Emboldened by his expressions of regret in his answer to the well-known Articles in the *Old Church Porch*, that the writers had not "inquired in the proper quarters" "before they attempted" "to give to the world" their history, I took the liberty of writing to him, and in a courteous reply in which he acknowledged my candour was referred to the "Angel-Evangelist" of this district. This Gentleman did me the favour of calling upon me; and in a long conversation, and subsequently in a prolonged correspondence, in which he most kindly took earnest pains to convince me, referred me to several books which are regarded in the Body as possessed of some authority. But answers to questions upon which I then required informa-

tion were persistently refused, on the ground that it was presumptuous in any outsider, not to say an opponent, to undertake such a work. Any information was promised which I might want for my personal needs as an inquirer, and some was given upon this presumed supposition, though my purpose was made known throughout; but nothing was conceded which would help on my work. Warnings in a Christian spirit were given that I should commit the dreadful sin against the Holy Ghost if I continued the undertaking.

I also paid a visit at Albury to one of the leading Members of the Body, and was received with a kindness which I shall ever remember and am glad here to acknowledge, though information was even more charily withheld.

Nevertheless, the numerous pamphlets and books which have been published or printed on the subject, every one of which so far as I could track them out and obtain them I have examined, have supplied a vast amount of information: and private sources, which have included present and former Members, have added to these stores.

One of the chief difficulties of the work has been the settlement of the question by what Name it would be best to designate the Body and the Doctrines which they teach. In deference to the feelings of the Members, another has been anxiously sought, but without success. Two of the leading Members have rebuked me for applying to the Body the term "Catholic Apostolic Church," which I had fancied to be most

according to their own heart. The designation "Adherents of a Restored Apostolate" would have been more agreeable to the School now dominant amongst them, but would have been open to the fatal objection of not covering the whole ground. Other attempts, less fortunate even than these, were successively made. So that the popular name "Irvingism" was left as the only resort. But this has been erased upon revision, wherever it seemed practicable.

I have now the pleasing duty of expressing my acknowledgments and indebtedness to numerous kind Friends who have helped me in various ways. Foremost amongst these is Mr. William Grant, Author of *Apostolic Lordship, or Five Years with the Irvingites*, without whose help in the earlier stages, supplied with unstinting hand and including all his own means of information, I could not have accomplished this task.

It has been executed with all the fairness and candour that I could command. I have endeavoured to account philosophically for the several steps in the course pursued. The line of argument is, I believe, the one demanded by the subject. If in the attempt to leave nothing of importance unnoticed, anything has been said needlessly to wound the feelings of the Adherents of the Tenets which pass under examination, I here beg to express my regret. My wish has been throughout, by a calm and equitable discussion of sacred things, according to a constant prayer during the undertaking,

to bring back to the Catholic Faith, which cannot be added to without detriment to the perfection of the machinery, and into the Unity of the Catholic Church, those who have really, if unconsciously, wandered away along self-chosen paths.

E. M.

*Butler's Marston,
Christmas Eve, 1877.*

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HISTORY OF IRVINGISM.

CHAPTER I.

PREDISPOSING CAUSES.



THE history of the Religious Body, which is usually called Irvingite, but is named by the members of it the Catholic Apostolic Church, forms an interesting and instructive chapter in the general history of religion in the nineteenth century. Irvingism—to call it by its popular name—though it can hardly be said to have settled down more than about forty years ago into the organic form and shape which it finally assumed, drew notwithstanding its origin out of the stirring events with which the present century was introduced. It will be shown in the course of this work that as those events, and the immediate period of change which succeeded them, vanish into distance in the past, the causes which produced Irvingism lose correspondingly their strength and influence. The system of religious teaching under consideration, and the Body which was constructed out of that teaching, were em-

phatically the product of the passing age. The leaders too in the movement have in the natural course of human life almost all passed away. So that the present appears to be a suitable time for gathering into one record the various skeins of information, which have hitherto been all that the world has possessed relative to this Body of religionists.

The first difficulty that occurs in the treatment of the subject of this book consists in the question of name. Irvingism, which was the appellation popularly assigned in consequence of the fame of one of the most prominent amongst its founders, is, as is well known, repudiated by the members of the Body. They assert, and in the assertion have a considerable amount of reason on their side, that Irving cannot be regarded as their founder in anything like the way in which Wesley was the founder of Wesleyanism, or Luther of Lutheranism, or Mohammed of Mohammedanism. (They point to the facts that Irving was never one of their Apostles, that he died before their constitution was perfected, and that the elaborate organization of the Body is carried to a height far beyond what he ever taught or even contemplated. They appeal to their early history as a religious Body in course of construction after Irving had passed the zenith of his fame, and show that other men actually exercised, as they know and can prove, a stronger influence, and worked more potent effects, in the eventual formation of their tenets and discipline than Irving at that time wielded or accomplished. They argue that Irving, powerful as he was both from his grand style of preach-

ing and from the disinterested nobleness of his disposition, was not possessed of the peculiar talents needed for guiding a youthful Community through the difficulties that beset its coming into the full exercise of life. And they maintain that the accident of the first public prophesying having occurred in his congregation, which fixed the popular gaze upon this part of their nascent system, ought neither to fasten upon them the obloquy which was attached to a portion of his teaching, nor to cause them for ever, however much they may revere his memory, to bear his name.

(But on the other hand it is clear that this religious Body grew mainly out of Irving's teaching, and from the large congregation which he had gathered and trained in his peculiar views. And it is difficult to see where the materials would have been found, or how the impetus would have been raised, or by what means the unity of a central power would have been obtained—all of which are necessary elements for summoning into existence a religious Community,—if Irving had not pursued his brilliant career in Hatton Garden and Regent Square.

[The germs of the later teaching of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church were so completely contained in the published works and in the sermons of him who was by far the most prominent man amongst these people, that one of the best accounts of his career assumes his identity with them throughout; and another has caused the only serious blot in her interesting biography by trying to prove a distinction between him and the Body to which the public have affixed his name. Preferring,

in this respect, the view of Mr. Washington Wilks to that of Mrs. Oliphant, as being decidedly more deserving of credit, we cannot but wonder at the dislike manifested by the maintainers of a Restored Apostolate to an identification with their greatest man.

Doubtless their chief object in doing so is to establish their claim to Catholicity instead of Sectarianism. And there would be no difficulty in complying with their wishes, as one would most gladly do, if they did not apply to themselves expressions which have always been part of the common heritage of the Church of Christ. How can we, how dare we, make them a present of the titles Catholic and Apostolic? Except so far as the latter may be forcibly pressed to involve the special meaning and assumption which the rest of the Church does not acknowledge, there is nothing in these words sufficiently differential to constitute an appellation peculiarly appropriate and distinctive. The example of Unitarianism, where the name adopted is suggestive of a false issue, and has led to the application to Churchmen of an antagonist title¹ expressive of only half the truth and therefore injurious, must make us careful how we part with the inalienable possessions of the Church. We cannot allow people to suppose that we do not hold that the Church is Catholic and Apostolic in a most true sense. There is also some indistinctness

¹ Trinitarians. The Church holds the Unity in Trinity, and Trinity in Unity, and is therefore Unitarian as well as Trinitarian. The realization of the Unity of the Blessed Godhead is her true answer. Slurring over this, by the use of a defective term, must have misled many minds.

in the manner in which the title is assumed. Sometimes we are told that no name is adopted but what is common to all Christians.¹ Again, we learn that the members of this Body were forbidden by the word of prophecy to assume any other.² At another time we are informed that this is the only name by which they can suffer themselves, without protest, to be called ; and that they acquiesce in it simply for the convenience of others when some designation is found necessary.³

When, therefore, we add this ambiguity in the assumption of the title "Catholic Apostolic Church" to the strong objection lying against it on the side of the

¹ This was urged to the author, from a high place in the Body, upon his use of the name "Catholic and Apostolic Church."

² "In assuming, as our only title and name, that of 'the Catholic and Apostolic Church,' in obedience to a word of prophecy forbidding any other, we arrogate to ourselves nothing, for we do not appropriate it in any exclusive sense. On the contrary, we protest that it is the proper designation of every Christian community. It has become our distinctive name, simply because we alone are satisfied with it. . . . If there be any favourite phrase among us . . . it is our superficial reply to the casual enquiry of the stranger, 'What Church do you belong to?' The answer would be, 'The same Church as you.' When a distinctive name is unavoidable we call ourselves 'The Church (or Churches) gathered under apostles.'"—*The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church*. London. Bosworth and Harrison: 1861 (By the Rev. Dr. Norton), p. 159.

³ "The buildings wherein we meet are known as Catholic Apostolic Churches, a name which we have not assumed, and to which we have no exclusive right. It is a name which belongs to the whole body of the Church, comprehending all who are baptized into Christ ; but it is the only name by which we can, without protest, suffer ourselves to be called, and in which we have acquiesced for the convenience of others when some designation has been found necessary." (*Address*, January, 1867. Issued apparently with authority, and mentioning at the end the several names of the seven churches in London.) Rather a difficult position to interpret practically.

"One Catholic and Apostolic Church" of all ages, no choice is left us, if a single designation must of necessity be used. We are constrained to employ the name by which in the course of events, and in the roll of years, this Body has been generally known. If we were assigning a title for the first time the case would be widely different. But, as it is, the precedents are far too numerous. Perhaps the name ought not, in strict justice, to have been applied. *Fieri non debuit*: yet *factum valet*. It is too late to alter now what long prescription and habit have affixed. [We call them, therefore, "Irvingites," with explanation and reserve; but call them so we must whenever a single title is to be used. Much as we should otherwise wish, we have positively no choice. Nevertheless, in the present work, other designations will be used as much as possible in deference to the feelings of the members of this Body, although at the expense of encumbering the sentences.

[Irvingism—to speak in the widest sense—took its rise out of the heavings of religious thought which were consequent upon a change from the old to a new state of things.]

It is unnecessary to insist upon the unsatisfactory condition of religious life in the eighteenth century. With small exception, it was the bequest of the struggles of the period of the Reformation, without the excitement to zeal which those struggles produced. And as the century wore away, the forces of the religious systems in vogue waxed effete and feeble. It is true that two fresh systems, what is commonly called Uni-

tarianism and Wesleyanism, arose during this time. But there was little attraction in the cold scepticism of the former for the many classes of people, the wants of whose complex nature are not satisfied by philosophical generalities, and who long for definiteness of belief; and whilst Wesley and his preachers moved to a strange degree the unthinking and uneducated, the minds of seekers after truth could not rest in his rough and ready way of salvation. Doubtless the Church of the land at this time ought to have managed to include at least the latter movement within her fold; and her failure in effecting this, or rather the unsympathizing manner in which she spurned the rude but hearty efforts of her children, was greatly to her discredit. If we take into account this want of elasticity in her life traditional from the Reformation, it will not seem surprising that at the end of the century there should have been an uneasy feeling prevalent amongst Churchmen in England; nor that, as the main characteristics of this low state of religious life extended to other countries also, feelings of gloom and dissatisfaction should have been found beyond our borders. We see therein a sign of the general deadness in spiritual matters, and the necessity that the smouldering embers should be rekindled with a new spirit.

[The impulse came eventually, strange to say, from the outburst of the forces of evil. The startling violence of the French Revolution, the irresistible fury with which the old barriers of society were overthrown, the unsparing boldness with which fundamental and wide-

spreading changes were introduced, the unlicensed excesses that occurred, "filled men's minds with fear, and with a looking after those things that were coming upon the earth." These events had hardly passed by when the career of the first Napoleon appeared, like the passage of a brilliant meteor in the heavens, and amazed and perplexed the minds of men. Naturally they began to wonder what was preparing in the womb of time. If the prelude was so striking, what would be the consummation? At the least, what had happened once might happen again. The marvels that had presented themselves might be eclipsed by yet greater marvels. People began to "look up and lift up their heads," thinking that their "redemption was drawing nigh."

h These causes of alarm and dissatisfaction with the system of religion then prevailing were greatly increased by the fact that the earlier part of the nineteenth century was pregnant with changes of another kind, which were to spring up and spread throughout society. It has been said by a living writer with great boldness, but with no inconsiderable amount of truth, that "in the eighteenth century the old world was passing away."¹ This consideration accounts for the general, though by no means unexceptional, dulness and coldness of that period, in poetry, art, taste, and religion. The customs and forms inherited from previous generations had hardened into a stiff, artificial conventionalism: the

¹ Curteis' *Bampton Lectures*, p. 290. "For 300 years—such is the grand scale on which history measures her epochs—the Middle Ages had lain in the throes and agonies of death; and in the eighteenth century they died."

freshness and sprightliness of real life had in a measure disappeared. It was, therefore, only natural that the youth of the "new world," if such it may be called, should be marked by an impetuous desire for novelty, by rashness in speculation, and by hasty adoption of measures crude in themselves but containing elements of soundness and intended to supply a void felt in the former life of those who adopted them.

The glory of the Reformation was the rescue of the Holy Scriptures from comparative neglect. And the weakness of Protestantism has been the dream that a sect or an individual, with the Bible in hand, can from hints of expression or comparison of passages discover concealed or forgotten truths, and even construct a religious system, and set to rights the Church of all ages, notwithstanding her myriads of able learned and pious men, her well-attested traditions, and her original contact with the Lord Himself. One of the early consequences, therefore, of this uneasy desire of change was an eager study of Holy Scripture, which led, as might have been anticipated, to results of various character. And as men were then looking forward, the study of prophecy in particular attracted a great deal of attention. The way had been paved for this in the works of Sherlock, Newton, Horsley, and Lowth, following upon those of Mede in the seventeenth century. These abounded with general principles ready for application. And now many minds were engaged in finding out modes of adapting the pictures drawn in the Revelation, or in other parts of Holy Scripture, to the events of the

age, and in discovering signs, as they supposed, of the approaching end of time.

The study of Prophecy was of a more vague and general character during the early years of the nineteenth century. Such books as Faber's *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, published in 1806, were mainly taken up with principles apart from any supposed application of them to contemporaneous events, or to such as were coming immediately. But about the year 1812 this study of prophecy took a more definite shape. In that year a book, which was afterwards translated by Mr. Irving, was published by a Spanish Jesuit named Lacunza, under the assumed title of Juan Josafat Ben Ezra, on *The Second Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty*. In this work he argues that the Church had never condemned the true doctrine, as he deemed it, of the Millennium, but only the errors by which it had been perverted. In the next year appeared Cunningham's *Dissertation on the Seals and Trumpets*, in which the period of 1260 years mentioned in the Apocalypse was fixed as extending from the edict of Justinian, in 533 A.D., to the French Revolution, being the period during which the celebrated code of Justinian was in force. For the French Revolution became the means of the introduction of the code of Napoleon, by which the previous code was abrogated. Till that epoch the code of Justinian remained the basis of ecclesiastical law. In the ensuing year, Mr. Hatley Frere published his *Combined view of the Christian Prophecies*. This was a book which acquired a great reputation amongst those

who afterwards made up the School of Prophecy, which was now in infancy. It was afterwards described as "a work which leaves little to be done in the way of structure—perhaps nothing, but carrying his own principles consistently through into their necessary consequences."¹ Two years after, in 1816, Mr. Lewis Way's *Letters to Basilicus*, and Mr. Bayford's *Messiah's Kingdom* appeared. The latter author afterwards became a prominent member of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church. Mr. Way, an English clergyman, was travelling alone in the steppes of Russia, and in Syria and Arabia, and was led whilst there into meditations upon the second Coming of our Lord, and the nearness of it, the results of which he gave to the world in the letters just mentioned.

Such, generally speaking, were the predisposing influences, so far as they had shown themselves, when Irving appeared upon the scene in London. The world was awakening to a new life. The long and severe struggle which had absorbed for twenty years the energies of Europe had ceased, and opportunity was given of turning the energies which had been taken up in warfare to the various arts of peace. It was the birth-time of an epoch of fresh inventions, of a wondrous advance in science, and in the outward means of living. The mist of age had gathered round the institutions of former generations. A secret dissatisfaction was spreading through a great part of society. The narrow religious maxims that had been long in vogue brought little relief. Stirring incidents had taken place. During their occur-

¹ *Morning Watch*, i. 540.

rence some people had been led to imagine that "the mystery of God was drawing to a close, and that the events of every year explained something previously unknown."¹ And now, with mingled apprehension and hope, they were looking anxiously forward. They were filled with the idea that the period in which they were living would prove to be the critical turning-point in the commencement of the end. Many ardent spirits were led into the expectation of the early Coming of the Lord, and began to prepare consciously and carefully for His arrival, which they fondly fancied that they themselves would witness in the flesh. And throughout the religious world a feeling of awe was rapidly spreading, and an eagerness to learn all that could be discovered about the mysteries of futurity.

¹ *Morning Watch*, i. 540.

CHAPTER II.

EDWARD IRVING.



EDWARD IRVING was born on the fourth of August, 1792, by a strange coincidence one of the most signal years of the great French Revolution, which, as has been already noticed, is one of the chief epochs in the system of interpretation of prophecy afterwards adopted by the subject of this chapter. He was the son of Gavin and Mary Irving, the former a tanner in Annan, upon the Annan Water, at a short distance above its junction with the Solway, and the latter a daughter of a small landed proprietor in the adjoining parish.

He had two brothers and five sisters. John, the eldest of the three brothers, and George, the youngest, died unmarried before their brother. The former of these, who was described by his friends as "one of the handsomest young men of his day," and who was, in his father's opinion, "the genius of the family," died in India of jungle fever on the fourth of August, not long after he entered the service of the East India Company as a medical officer. Edward Irving kept this day, made thus doubly memorable, being both

the anniversary of his own birth and of his brother's death, as a solemn fast ; and on one occasion commemorated it in his diary with the following remark :—*4th August* : "*Dies natalis atque fatalis incidit.*" Thus translated :— "The day of birth and of death draweth nigh."

After imbibing the earliest rudiments of education at a dame's school, the boy was sent to the Annan Academy, which was then conducted by a certain Adam Hope, who had gained a considerable reputation as a schoolmaster in those parts. Here one of his school-fellows was Thomas Carlyle, afterwards one of the apostles in the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church, a dignity not conceded to his eminent companion. Another was Hugh Clapperton, the African traveller, whose character and exploits contributed not a little in raising the aspirations of Irving at different periods of his life. [Edward Irving does not appear to have distinguished himself in any remarkable manner in those days, unless it were in athletics, which however were not regarded at that time with the great admiration which they now attract. Nor do we hear much that is noticeable of him beyond two anecdotes.

The first of these shows the earnest generosity inherent in his disposition. His mother happened to be at a party in a neighbouring house, when she was informed that her two youngest boys wanted to speak to her. At first an attempt was made to put them off, and they were told to go home, as Mrs. Irving could not be disturbed in her society with her friends. But Edward was so pertinacious in his request that at last his

mother came out, fearing that something was wrong at home. The boy only wanted leave to give away some of his own linen to a sick lad who was greatly in need of it.

The other incident was an adventure in which he nearly lost his life. In company with his elder brother John, he had been sent across the Solway Firth during the ebb of the tide to meet his uncle George Lowther. The two boys on their passage were so taken up with the interesting shells and weeds and living creatures of curious shapes and habits, which they found on their way, that they forgot all about their uncle and the return of the tide and the instructions which they had brought from home. Suddenly a horseman appeared at full gallop, who dismounting seized both the boys, and laying them across his horse only just succeeded in carrying them safe to the bank, when he discovered that he had saved his own nephews.

At the age of thirteen Irving passed on with his brother John to the University of Edinburgh. Here he stayed four years till he was seventeen, and attracted the attention of Professor Christison, and of Sir John Leslie, who was then mathematical professor. Mr. Thomas Carlyle, the great author, was one of those who became acquainted with him about this period, for he writes: "The first time I saw Irving was six-and-twenty years ago, in his native town, Annan. He was fresh from Edinburgh, with college prizes, high character, and promise; he had come to see our schoolmaster, who had also been his. We heard of famed professors, of high

matters, classical, mathematical, a whole Wonderland of Knowledge ; nothing but joy, health, hopefulness without end looked out from the blooming young man."¹

He was now appointed to the management of a mathematical school at Haddington, where he remained two years. He appears to have been a strict disciplinarian, possessed of iron will, but to have drawn to himself by his freshness, hearty vigour, genial disposition, and companionship in games, the enthusiastic attachment of his scholars.

On one occasion he took some of them on a summer evening after school-hours to St. George's, Edinburgh, to hear Dr. Chalmers preach. When they reached the church, after a walk of more than seventeen miles, they were making their way up into the gallery to a pew which was empty, when a man stepped out, and, putting his arm across the opening of the pew, said that it was engaged. No words having any effect, Irving exclaimed with that grandeur of manner which afterwards characterized him, "Remove your arm, or I will shatter it to pieces." The delighted boys immediately seized upon the seat, and took the rest which after their long walk they eagerly desired.²

In 1812, the inhabitants of Kirkcaldy, on the north side of the Firth of Forth, established a new school, and chose Irving to be their schoolmaster. There had been no school before in the place beyond the parish school, and from his severity Irving appears to have had great trouble in reducing to order his rude and varied scholars,

¹ *Essays*, v. 130.

² *Oliphant's Life of Irving*, p. 25.

of mixed boys and girls. But his generous single-mindedness, and his real kindness of disposition made him notwithstanding intensely popular ; and the strongly marked individuality of his character led his pupils, with premature anticipation, to distinguish themselves by the title of "Irvingites." [He remained here seven years, working part of the time single-handed, but during the latter portion of his stay enjoying the help of an assistant. The memory of him long lingered in the place, not only on account of his great force of character, but also from the commanding proportions of the figure which was constantly seen in the streets of the place. He was over six feet two inches in height, with corresponding strength. Whilst here, as before at Haddington, he continued his Divinity studies, going up to Edinburgh for the exercises which were required from time to time. He became now engaged to one of his early pupils, Isabella, the daughter of the Rev. John Martin, the minister of the place.]

[When he had been four years at Kirkcaldy he received his license to preach in June, 1815, from the Presbytery of Kirkcaldy.] Whilst he was engaged in the delivery of his first sermon his manuscript dropped from the pulpit upon the desk below. With the eyes of all the congregation upon him, he grasped the paper when returned to him, crushed it up, and, putting it into his pocket, "went on as fluently as before."¹ Notwithstanding this success, which must have been all the greater because preaching from paper is a sore offence in the eyes of the good

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 36.

people in the North, he did not generally take with the Scotch at this time in the pulpit, and continued to the end of his career as a schoolmaster without winning any reputation beyond what his school-work brought him.

[In the year 1818, he resigned the school at Kirkcaldy and moved to Edinburgh, with the determination of devoting himself wholly to the work of the ministry. His mind was full of hopes and prospects; but for another weary year he was condemned to silence, and to secret study and observation. He now thought, if no other opening presented itself, of going out as a missionary to India or elsewhere.

At last he received an invitation to preach at St. George's from Dr. Andrew Thomson, who was then regarded as second amongst Presbyterians only to Dr. Chalmers. The invitation was coupled with an announcement that Chalmers himself, who was in search of an assistant, was to be present. Irving went to preach with all the eagerness of his enthusiastic youth. But although he had reason to believe that generally speaking his sermon was a success, time elapsed, and Chalmers made no sign of any intention to invite him; and at length, wearied with repeated disappointments, Irving packed up his books and his few other effects and left Edinburgh. Having sent on his boxes to his father's house at Annan, he took a knapsack, and intended to work his way down along the coast; but with a sudden determination got into an Irish steamer, and crossed to Belfast. Here he was arrested upon sus-

picion that he was the perpetrator of a notorious crime, and was only set at liberty on applying to Mr. Hanna, the father of the biographer and son-in-law of Chalmers, who was a Presbyterian minister at Belfast. He now wandered alone about the north of Ireland for several weeks, and on his return found at Coleraine a letter from Chalmers with the offer of the vacant post. With diffidence about his own powers, he only accepted the offer upon the condition that his ministrations proved acceptable to the congregation.¹

He now threw himself with all the great vigour of which he was capable into the duties of his office. His heart was given up to his people. He made many friends amongst them ; but he gained no very remarkable success in his preaching. Perhaps his style did not suit the colder temperament of the Scotch people at Glasgow. At all events Chalmers never thoroughly appreciated him, and probably exercised a chilling and repressive influence over the impulsive young preacher. He could never get over what he afterwards described as Irving's "eccentricity and imprudence." And Chalmers being the controlling spirit in the parish, the early essays of Irving stood out before the eyes of the parishioners in an unfavourable light as compared with the finished efforts of the master. Nevertheless, everybody at first was impressed by his striking appearance. "'Mem,' burst forth a servant-girl to her mistress, who had ordered her to admit no one into the house, 'there's a wonderful grand gentleman called : I couldna say that you were engaged

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, pp. 48—51.

to *him*—I think he maun be a Highland chief!’ ‘*That* Mr. Irving!’ exclaimed another individual of less elevated and poetical conceptions; ‘*that* Dr. Chalmers’ helper! I took him for a cavalry officer.’ ‘Do you know, Doctor,’ said a third, addressing Chalmers himself, ‘what things people are saying about your new assistant? they say he’s like a brigand chief.’ ‘Well, well,’ said Dr. Chalmers with a smile, ‘whatever they say, they will never think him like anything but a leader of men.’”¹

He was ever most attentive to the poor, and when he entered their gloomy lodgings in Gallowgate, he always uttered the evangelic salutation, “Peace be to this house!” “‘It was very peculiar, a thing that nobody else did,’ says a simple-minded member of Dr. Chalmers’ agency; ‘it was impossible not to remark it, out of the way as it was; but there was not one of the agency could make an objection to it. It took the people’s attention wonderfully.’” “A certain solemn atmosphere entered with that lofty figure, speaking in matchless harmony of voice its ‘Peace be to this house!’”² “He laid his hands on the children with the words, ‘The Lord bless thee and keep thee.’”³

As time passed on, and he became more accustomed to the place, there were a few who were impressed with his great powers. “Irving’s preaching,” Chalmers said of it, “is like Italian music, appreciated only by connoisseurs.”⁴ At this time he had a small legacy left him, which he converted into one-pound notes, one of which he took

¹ Oliphant’s *Life of Irving*, p. 51.

² *Ibid.* p. 58.

³ *Fraser’s Magazine* for Jan. 1863, p. 64.

⁴ Oliphant’s *Life of Irving*, p. 61.

with him every day in his parochial rounds, till the legacy was all spent.

At last an offer reached him from the managers of the Caledonian Church in London, which proved to be the turn in his fortunes. Irving went to London, and preached a trial sermon. The Duke of York, who was President of the Caledonian Asylum, which was connected with the Caledonian Chapel, was present. The sermon gave great satisfaction, and the author was asked to publish it. And after a few difficulties were got over he received the appointment.

He was now ordained : for by the rules of the Presbyterians, no one could be ordained a Presbyter till he had an independent appointment. By his own choice his ordination took place at Annan, and he went to his father's house for the purpose.

His mode of departure from Glasgow did him great credit. He had gone to Rosneath to take leave of his intimate friend, Robert Story, who was for forty years minister of that place. Story returned with him to hear the farewell address, which, according to the custom then prevailing, he was to deliver, and appears to have been fairly taken aback by it. Full of generous hope and spirit, Irving referred to his own imperfections, the kindness he had received from Chalmers, and the forbearance exercised towards him by the members of the congregation. Nothing could exceed the warmth and candour with which he expressed himself. And with characteristic generosity he gave a general invitation, in warm and unreserved terms, to every one in the congre-

gation to visit him in London, promising his house, his services, and all that he could do to any one who might stand in need of him.¹

He now, in July, 1822, proceeded to the scene of his greatest triumphs. The Caledonian Chapel in Hatton Garden was but a small building. At the time of Irving's arrival in London it was known almost only to the few who used to attend it. The invitation to Irving to come as minister was signed by fifty names, which included, as it appears, all the regular congregation. But now by degrees the little chapel began to fill and even to overflow. Only a month after Irving's arrival in London, Chalmers reports, after having gone to see him, that he was "making his way to good acceptance and a very good congregation."² He had acquired a vast reputation when, soon after the end of his first year in London, he returned to Scotland in September, 1823, to be married. And the Scotch congregations to whom he now preached found out by the light of London opinion how great an orator had left them for the metropolis of the United Kingdom. He had already published his *Orations* and his *Argument for the Judgment to come*. The application for seats in the Caledonian Chapel, which would accommodate only six hundred, had risen in one quarter to fifteen hundred.

"The immediate origin of Irving's popularity, or rather of the flood of noble and fashionable hearers who poured in upon the little chapel of Hatton Garden all at once, without warning or premonition, is said to have

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, pp. 74, 75.

² Ibid. p. 78.

been a speech of Canning's. Sir James Mackintosh had been by some unexpected circumstance led to hear the new preacher, and heard Irving in his prayer describe an unknown family of orphans belonging to the obscure congregation as now 'thrown upon the Fatherhood of God.' The words seized upon the mind of the philosopher, and he repeated them to Canning, who started, as Mackintosh relates, and expressing great admiration, made an instant engagement to accompany his friend to the Scotch Church on the following Sunday. Shortly after, a discussion took place in the House of Commons, in which the revenues of the Church were referred to, and the necessary mercantile relation between high talent and good *pay* insisted upon. No doubt it suited the statesman's purpose to instance, on the other side of the question, the little Caledonian Chapel and its new preacher. Canning told the House, that so far from universal was this rule, that he himself had lately heard a Scotch minister, trained in one of the most poorly endowed of Churches, and established in one of her outlying dependencies, possessed of no endowment at all, preach the most eloquent sermon he had ever listened to. The curiosity awakened by this speech is said to have been the first beginning of that invasion of 'society' which startled Hatton Garden out of itself."¹

It was indeed an "invasion." All the approaches to Hatton Garden were crammed with carriages and vehicles of all sorts and journeyers thither on foot. When the invasion was at its extreme height, many of those who went

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, pp. 79, 80, ed. 4.

to hear the great preacher never came within the reach of his voice. Some never saw the building itself. Never before or since has there been such an attraction Sunday after Sunday. What was the cause of this? He is described as follows by a writer of the day who evidently had heard him :—

“When every part of the building had become densely and most oppressively crowded, the preacher appeared—tall, athletic, and sallow; arrayed in the scanty robe of the Scotch divines, displaying a profusion of jet-black, glossy hair, reaching even to his shoulders, with a singular obliquity in one of his eyes, and a stern, calm solemnity of aspect, somewhat debased by an expression indicative of austere pride and conscious sanctity. His strong northern accent added to his singularity, which was still further increased by his violent and ungraceful, but impressive gesticulation. The peculiar characteristic of his style was a straining after originality of ideas, and the expressing them in the language of Milton, Jeremy Taylor, and the old divines; embellishing his discourse with the metaphors of poets and philosophers, and adding to the piquancy of his censures by personal allusions and homely truths.”¹

Such is the description given by an observer who strove against prejudice to be impartial. Irving's appearance is elsewhere described as of a man “of an almost colossal stature, with raven-coloured hair, pale visage, sunken cheeks, and dark eyes.”² By some critics he was

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, June, 1835, p. 664.

² *Ibid.* August, 1823, p. 154.

loudly praised; by others he was unsparingly condemned and depreciated.

There was really something remarkably striking in Irving's manner. The very manner with which he gave out the Psalm had a strangely impressive individuality. His prayer exhibited a loftiness of spiritual thought and feeling which was much more than ordinary. And his "orations," as he appropriately loved to call them, were true rhetorical efforts of a high order. His published sermons show a lofty grandeur of ideas, a great command of words, combined with a rapidly flowing freedom of expression. He had evidently impassioned vigour, and a striking power of forcible description. And the warmth of his nature, and the evident sincerity with which he spoke, added to his freedom from anything like weakness or conventional modes of thought or speech, and the freshly running stream of nature which marked all that he said or wrote, completed the effect produced. Probably it was the assemblage of these causes which have been last mentioned that produced such a stir in an age when types of conventional life were ready to decay, and led to Irving's sudden popularity and gradual decline. He had the surprising powers which are calculated to succeed in early life; he wanted the quiet judgment, the calm and deep thought, the correct taste, which were needed to enable him to maintain the situation to which he had so soon succeeded.

At the beginning of the year 1824, Irving was chosen by the London Missionary Society to preach one of their anniversary sermons. The scene was the chapel in

Tottenham Court Road, originally built for Whitfield. Notwithstanding that the day was wet, the chapel was crowded so long before that it was thought best to begin the preliminary services an hour before the time appointed. Irving utterly disregarded the conventionality of the day, which required in a charity sermon more praise of the Society than treatment of the subject before them, and plunged into a grand description of the ideal missionary occupied in his work without staff or scrip, or banker, or ascertained income. Both when preached and when afterwards published, the sermon was angrily criticized in many quarters. The orator had mistaken his audience, and had mounted up to heights where they were unable to follow him. But not the less was this a splendid effort of genius, replete with noble aspirations and lofty principles.

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[About two years after Irving came to London, the chapel in Hatton Garden being found far too small for the multitudes who crowded to his preaching, the foundations were laid for a new building in Regent Square. And about this time he took further steps in the direction of the doctrines of prophecy which he held in his later years. He was not satisfied with the ordinary idea of the gradual conversion of the world by missionary efforts, so that it should slide into the Church by a natural inclination. Such a slow and tedious process could not commend itself to his eager and impetuous expectations, and his notion of the overmastering power of Almighty God in working out His purposes. He began, therefore, to enter into the new ideas of the present dispensation

its close, and of the near approach of "a
overwhelming revolution," which should
his present state through the Advent of our
His Reign upon earth. And the commanding
which Irving now held in London made his
His to the movement highly important, and brought
most in popular estimation, to the head of those
already begun to work for it.]

Hatley Frere, who has been already mentioned
author of *Views of the Prophecies*, had con-
his study of the prophetical writings as applic-
current events, and had embodied some of his
in a *Treatise on the Prophecies of Daniel*. But
a new and more powerful impulse was to be given
study of prophecy than any it had hitherto re-
ed."¹ Hatley Frere felt that he was in possession of
system of interpretation elaborated by himself, but
hitherto kept from the world; and he was anxious to

use it in such a manner as to secure a favourable
reception and examination. "Not less confident in
the truth of his scheme that nobody shared his belief in

Mr. Frere cherished the conviction that if he could
meet some man of candid and open mind, of popularity
sufficient to gain a hearing, to whom he could privately
explain and open up his system, its success was certain.
When Irving, all ingenuous and ready to be taught, was
suddenly brought into contact with him, the student of
prophecy identified him by a sudden intuition. 'Here is
the man!' he exclaimed to himself; and with all the

¹ *Morning Watch*, i. 540.

eagerness of a discoverer, who seeks a voice by which to utter what he has found out, he addressed himself to the candid and generous soul which could condemn nothing unheard." ¹

Irving entered readily into the study of this subject, which had inherent charms for a mind constituted like his, and trained for it alike by his revulsion from the narrow Evangelicalism of the day, and from the stiff and stern doctrines of the Westminster divines. He was yearning for a grand and mighty cure for the various diseases of the world. What could be grander, or more effective, or accompanied with more authority than the prospect now presented? The first result of his apprehension of Hatley Frere's investigations was a sermon preached to the Continental Society, which he published under the title of *Babylon and Infidelity Foredoomed*, which, both when preached and published, attracted like his other effects general attention, and found both admirers and detractors.


About this time Irving began his translation of the work published in 1812 by Lacunza, a converted Jew, who had become a Jesuit, and wrote under the *nom de plume* of Ben Ezra. This book, which has been already noticed, was one of the earliest publications of that school of thought which has, in the last and the present generations, applied the disclosures of prophecy to present events, and was much noticed and exercised great influence when it was published, though it afterwards fell into comparative neglect.

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 104, ed. 4.

While he was engaged in this undertaking, believing, as he says at the opening of the Dedication, that the "coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" is close at hand, he was invited to a conference in which the various students of prophecy were to combine their forces, and to convert a merely guerilla warfare into a more general and regular campaign.

CHAPTER III.

EARLY MEETINGS.

E are now introduced to another of the chief actors in the drama which is to be unfolded.

Henry Drummond was born in the year 1786, six years before Irving. His father, who died when he was only seven years old, was one of the partners in the well-known bank of Drummond & Co., at Charing Cross, which had been founded by his great-uncle, the brother of the Lord Strathallan, who was killed at Cul-loden in 1745. The eldest son of the latter nobleman, who on the death of his father became Viscount Strathallan, was included in the act of attainder ; and the sufferers under the proscription confided to the old banker, Andrew Drummond, the management of the property which remained to them.

Henry's mother, daughter of the first Lord Melville, was married again to Mr. Strange, with whom she went to India, leaving in England the subject of this notice, then a boy of sixteen, who had been sent to Harrow about the time of the death of his father, and now continued there. After spending two years at Oxford he made a tour in Russia, and before coming of age married Lady Harriet

Hay, eldest daughter of the Earl of Kinnoul. During his boyhood he was introduced by his grandfather, Lord Melville, who was very fond of him, to Pitt ; and it is said that in his "familiar intercourse with those statesmen he imbibed the principles of loyalty to the crown, and veneration for the institutions under which this country has so long flourished, with the recognition of the natural rights and duties of the individual."¹

Mr. Drummond now paid unflagging attention to the business of the bank, which he only gave up in after years when he found it irreconcilable with his devotion of himself to objects which he deemed higher and more important.

He was for three years member for the borough of Plympton Earle, to which he was elected in 1810, and during the period of his sitting in parliament he carried through the House a bill by which the embezzlement of entrusted monies by bankers was made a misdemeanour, punishable by transportation for fourteen years. Finding, however, that his private business would not allow him to attend strictly to parliamentary duties without injury to his health, he resigned his seat in 1813.

In 1821 he sent out the celebrated traveller, Wolff, at his own expense,² and in 1825 he founded the professorship of political economy at Oxford, being convinced by his experience, which was confirmed by the financial difficulties in 1826, of the need of the diffusion of sound doctrines on that important subject.

¹ Introductory notice to *Speeches in Parliament*, by Henry Drummond, Esq. : edited by Lord Lovaine (now Duke of Northumberland).

² *Wolff's Travels*, ii. 450 ; i. 139, 145.

/ As [Mr. Drummond exercised a powerful influence over the destinies and career of Irvingism, and held one of the most prominent posts in this religious body] it will not be out of place here to quote a description of him in parliament, where he afterwards sat for the western division of Surrey from 1847 till his death in 1860.

“ Every habitual reader of the debates must be familiar with Mr. Drummond’s style of speech. But only the habitual attendant can adequately realize its attraction and effect. The presence, the costume, the manner of the speaker were all totally unlike what the reader would imagine. A tall, slender, white-haired figure, perfectly upright, and scrupulously attired in black, rose from the first seat on the first bench below the gangway, on the ministerial side, whatever the ministerial politics. From a place thus significant of parliamentary independence, there was delivered, slowly, almost inaudibly, and with perfect gravity, a speech that proclaimed an equally independent position in the world of opinion. Through lips that hardly seemed to part, there came trickling forth a thin but sparkling stream of sententious periods, full of humour and sarcasm, learning and folly, boldness and timidity, bigotry and charity, and of everything antithetical. The strongest contrast of all seemed that between the speaker and his hearers. Everybody but himself was excited by laughter, or anger, or pleasure. He alone seemed perfectly unmoved—a speaking statue, shaking the sides of all men within hearing, and some who could not hear caught the contagion of laughter.

But the man was himself a paradox. His strongly marked individuality ran into so many opposite extremes that his right hand seemed always at war with his left hand. Some of his favourite notions seemed utterly puerile, yet there was a ripeness of wisdom in him that made his speeches abound with proverbial philosophy.

"But it was by his religious opinions that Mr. Drummond was chiefly known to the general public, and yet least known. Sometimes a rash opponent would venture an allusion to his connection with a Church whose head ministers ranked as archangels, and whose services were in an unknown tongue.¹ If Mr. Drummond forbore to punish such coarse and blundering replies to the thrusts of his own keen and polished blade, it was out of respect to a subject which he held too sacred for such encounters. The really remarkable thing about which we may call the parliamentary aspect of his religion was, that he constantly appeared as the champion of essentially Roman Catholic doctrine,² and yet as the fierce antagonist of papal supremacy. His speeches equally offended Romanists and Protestants. Against the latter, as in debates on the law of marriage, he was the strict asserter of Church authority. Against the former, as in the debates on the Ecclesiastical Tithes Bill, and on the inspection of convents, he maintained the pope to be an usurper. He provoked, by the fierceness of his denunciations of these institutions, the uncontrollable feeling of Roman Catholics; and he shocked Mr. Spooner by

¹ This is of course untrue.

² This is an over-statement.

scornful disclaimers of the Protestant right of private judgment.

"His social position was that of a link between the territorial and the monied aristocracy; and though he perpetually railed at the political economists, he founded at Oxford a professorship of "the dismal science." He ridiculed the opponents of capital punishment, and the advocates of humanitarian movements generally. Yet much of his time, as well as of his money, was spent in actively doing good. Nothing would have provoked him more than the association of his name with radicalism and retrenchment, yet there are few passages in the writings of financial reformers equal for severity to the speech in which he turned into words Gilchrist's forgotten caricature, representing the State as a maternal pig, with the last of her progeny sucking at her tail. No other man would have had the boldness to use such Rabelaisian wit as his with such unsparing severity, applying to dukes and knights of the garter the same caustic aphorism as to venal voters.

"But all this was but the rocking to and fro of a mind whose history was that of a continued struggle to reconcile authority and freedom, truth and beauty, religion and reason."¹

Such was a view of Mr. Drummond in after years; to the eyes of an outsider representing the keen observation, but somewhat superficial judgment, of the period. At

¹ Notice in the *Morning Star*, quoted in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, for April, 1860, p. 414, as what "appears to us on the whole well considered and impartial."

the time which is now under consideration he was the banker, who devoted the leisure which remained to him, after careful attention to the duties of his business, to the lofty objects of philanthropy and religion.

(He was possessed of a luxurious home at Albury, a village situated about six miles to the east of Guildford, in a sweet valley to the south of the downs which extend between Guildford and Dorking. This village may be called with justice one of the most charming spots in England. The valley, which forms a connected depression, linking the basins of the Wey and the Mole, and sends out small tributaries to those rivers on either side, at its narrowest part lies almost as a cleft between two precipitous ranges of hills, which are beautifully clothed with trees and general verdure, out of which rise picturesquely a group of Scotch firs, crowning a prominent point in the northernmost of the ranges. An ample drive has been cut through one of the woods by Mr. Drummond, who carried out the dictates of his exquisite taste in the general adornment of the place, in his management of the woods and grounds, and by the construction of several pretty residences, whose elaborate chimneys with varied Gothic effect peering above the trees here and there, greatly add to the striking character of the general effect.

But his chief care appears to have been paid to his own mansion and grounds. The house at Albury Park, though less ample than would be expected, and though notably the library must have been small for the forty members of the prophetic parliament, is nevertheless a most tasteful building, and to a visitor appears to form a highly appro-

priate feature amidst the attractions of the valley, and the delightful beauty of the garden, which can hardly be too highly praised. One can scarcely conceive a spot more suited for an assemblage of men, where meditation and fancy would play important parts. There are shady and secluded walks, without going out of the grounds, for solitary contemplation, and for several pairs and trios of debaters, without interference with one another ; besides an open glade of a quarter of a mile in length, where more might assemble, lying just above a long yew hedge, ascribed to the invention and management of Evelyn. And if a longer walk were needed, either the woods on the north were within easy reach, or an ascent to the heath on the south would open a wild view of totally different character, with a fine range of hills in the foreground, and on the south-west side a more distant prospect, extending towards Woolmer Forest in Hampshire, and Leith Hill, the highest in that part of the country.

The meetings of those people who were interested in the question of the immediate fulfilment of prophecy, and were anxious to work out the application, according to the special mode of interpretation then adopted by Irving and his friends, owed their origin to a suggestion made by Mr. Lewis Way to Mr. Drummond.¹ The first of these took place at Albury in Advent, 1826. The account of it is given with such characteristic expression by Irving that it seems best to let him, as one of the chief members of the little council, speak in his own words:—

“There arose, in the beginning of last summer,

¹ Evans' *History of the Denominations in Religion*, p. 288.

amongst certain students of prophecy in London, a desire to compare their views, with respect to the prospects of the Church in this present crisis ; and we held meetings during the summer, from time to time, as we could find opportunity ; when one of our members, well known for his princely munificence, thought well to invite by special letter all the men, both ministers and laymen, of any orthodox communion whom he knew or could ascertain to be interested in prophetic studies, that they should assemble at his house of Albury Park, in Surrey, on the first day of Advent, that we might deliberate for a full week upon the great prophetic questions which at present do most instantly concern Christendom. (In answer to this honourable summons, there assembled about twenty men of every rank, and Church, and orthodox communion in these realms. And in honour of our meeting, God so ordered it, that Joseph Wolff, the Jewish missionary, a son of Abraham, and brother of our Lord, both according to the flesh and according to faith, should also be of the number. And here, for eight days,¹ under the roof of Henry Drummond, Esq., the present high sheriff of the county, and under the moderation of the Rev. Hugh McNeile, the rector of the parish of Albury, we spent six full days in close and laborious examination of the Scriptures, upon these six great heads of doctrine : First, the doctrine of Holy Scripture concerning the times of the Gentiles. Secondly, the duties of Christian ministers and people, growing out thereof, towards the Gentile Churches.

¹ From Wednesday till the Friday week ensuing.

Thirdly, the doctrine concerning the present and future condition of the Jews. Fourthly, the duties growing out of the same towards the Jews. Fifthly, the system of prophetic visions and numbers of Daniel and the Apocalypse. Sixthly, the Scripture doctrine concerning the future advent of the Lord. And lastly, the duties of the Church and the world arising out of the same. Now these are points on which men are supposed to be wholly at sea, without chart, course, or polar star ; and it is the common rebuke of the students of prophecy, that no two of them are agreed on any one matter, and, therefore, the thing which I am going to say will appear the more wonderful. That though we were for the most part strangers to one another, of different Churches, out of different countries, and under no influence of one another, we were so overruled by the One Spirit of truth and love as to have found our way to harmony and coincidence in the main point in all these questions. We believed in common that the present form of the dispensation of the gospel was for a time commensurate with the times of the Gentiles, which are again commensurate with the period of Jerusalem's being trodden underfoot, and of the Jews' dispersion ; that the restoration of the Jews would introduce a new era into the Church and the world, which might be called the universal dispensation of the benefits of Christ's death, while this is the dispensation to the Church only, which is *few* compared with the *whole*. That the conclusion of the latter in great judgments, and the commencement of the former in great mercies, was hard at hand, yea,

even at the very door ; all being agreed that the 1260 and 1290 days of Daniel were accomplished, and the remaining 45 begun, at the conclusion of which the blessedness will be fully arrived. And that during this judgment, which may open to the work of winding up and concluding the whole subject ; but in a more easy and familiar manner, as being seated around the fire of the great library-room, yet still looking to a moderator, and with the same diligent attention to order, each seeming desirous to record everything which was said. This went on by the propounding of any question or difficulty which had occurred during the day, addressed to him who had opened the subject, or to any other able to resolve it ; and so we proceeded till towards eleven o'clock, when the whole duties of the day were concluded by the singing of a hymn, and the offering up of an evening prayer. Such were the six days we spent under the holy and hospitable roof of Albury House, within the chime of the church bell, and surrounded by the most picturesque and beautiful forms of nature ; but the sweetest spot was that council-room where I met the servants of the Lord, the wise virgins waiting with oil in their lamps for the bridegroom ; and a sweeter still was that secret chamber where I met in the spirit my Lord and Master, whom I hope soon to meet in the flesh.

“O Albury ! most honoured of the King
And Potentate of Heaven, whose presence here
We daily look for ! In thy silent halls
His servants sought, and found such harmony
Of blessed expectation, as did fill
Their hearts with lively joy, as if they'd caught
The glory of the cloud which bore their Lord,

Or heard the silver-toned trump of jubilee
Sound His arrival through the vanities of heaven.
From thy retreat, as from the lonely watch-tower,
We had certain tidings of the coming night,
And of the coming day. The one to brace
Our hearts with dauntless resolution,
All sufferings to endure on His behalf
Who for our souls did bear the ascendant dire
Of Satan's hour and power of darkness.
The other to delight our souls with thoughts
And dearest joys which are not known to those
Contemptuous and unfaithful servants,
Who think not of the promise long delayed
Of Thy most glorious coming, gracious Lord!
For me, and for these brethren's sake, I pray
That the sweet odour of these hallowed hours
May never from our souls depart, till Thou,
Our glorious King, Thy standard in the heaven
Unfurlest, and command'st the Archangel strong
To make the silver-toned trump of jubilee
Sound Thine arrival through the vault of heaven,
And quicken life within the hollow tomb."

These meetings at Albury were continued annually for five years, the last being held in 1830, generally about the season of Advent. Forty-four people in all attended one or more of them, but of these, nineteen were clergymen of the Church of England, one was an English Moravian, two were Dissenting ministers, four were ministers of the Established Church of Scotland; and eleven English laymen, one Scotch Presbyterian layman, and six other Englishmen, whose adhesion is unknown, made up the number.¹

Amongst these were, besides Irving, Drummond, Wolff, and Hugh McNeile, Daniel Wilson afterwards

¹ *Letter in Answer to Certain Statements in the "Old Church Porch,"*
p. 8.

Bishop of Calcutta, Robert Story of Rosneath, a well-known Scotch minister, of whom we shall hear more in the course of this history, Hatley Frere, Haldane Stewart, Spencer Perceval, eldest son of the murdered minister, and afterwards one of the "Apostles," Mr. Tudor, afterwards editor of the *Morning Watch*, the late Duke of Manchester then Viscount Mandeville, who had married the only daughter of Lady Olivia Sparrow, Mr. Strutt the late Lord Rayleigh, and Dr. Dodsworth.¹

The second meeting, in 1827, was attended by a larger

¹ The names of forty-three are given in Evans' *Sketch of the Various Denominations of Religion*, by the Rev. J. H. Bransby, p. 288, ed. 18. They are as follows :

Rev. G. Beckett.	Rev. R. Wolff.
„ W. Bryan.	„ R. Wolff, Junr.
„ Dr. H. T. Burder.	Lord Mandeville.
„ T. W. Cole.	Hon. J. J. Strutt.
„ W. Dodsworth.	Mr. J. Bayford.
„ W. Dow.	„ T. Borthwick.
„ C. Hawtrey.	„ W. Cunningham.
„ J. Hawtrey.	„ T. W. Chevalier.
„ E. Irving.	„ H. Drummond.
„ H. B. Maclean.	„ J. H. Frere.
„ H. McNeile.	Capt. G. Gambier.
„ W. Marsh.	Mr. A. Haldane.
„ Dr. Okely. (?)	„ W. Leach.
„ H. J. Owen.	Lieut. Malden.
„ G. W. Phillips.	Mr. S. Perceval.
„ — Probyn.	„ E. Simon.
„ J. Simons.	„ — Staples.
„ R. Story.	„ R. Sumner.
„ G. Haldane Stewart.	„ J. Tudor.
„ J. Stratton.	Rev. J. White.
„ E. Vaughan.	„ D. Wilson.
„ J. Wolff.	

The forty-fourth was, I believe, Lord Riley, though Mr. Way's name is not found in this list.—*Wolff's Travels*, p. 377.

number than the first. Amongst these was Robert Story, of Rosneath, who had not been present the year before. The interpretations of prophecy appear now to have taken a more definite turn, and to have been carried onwards from merely general notions about the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, and the approaching coming of the Lord for His millennial reign on earth, to a detailed application to the "times and seasons" of the current period. The Apocalyptic Vial was supposed to have been poured out on Rome, in A. D. 1798; and it was concluded that the coming of our Lord would take place in 1847.¹ It is evident that in this method of precise interpretation they had ventured upon unsafe ground, and an amusing incident occurred which struck Story forcibly. While they were in session, the news of the death of the Duke of Reichstadt, the son of the first Napoleon, reached them. "That cannot be true," said one of them, springing from his seat, "for it would overturn this whole interpretation."² The young Napoleon had been taken for the Beast of the Apocalypse.

"The School of the prophets," as Irving termed them, met again the next year. A falling off had already commenced. Drummond came to the conclusion that "some of the people last year had not been very

¹ *Dialogues on Prophecy*, i. 325. Cp. *Wolff's Travels*, i. 402. The *Morning Watch* made the termination of the Ottoman power occur in A. D. 1844, a year of jubilee, when the Jews were to return.—*Morning Watch*, vol. i. p. 272 (cf. p. 558). Confirmed also by the Rev. Dr. Norton.—*Lives of the Macdonalds*, pp. 43, 44.

² *Life of Story*, p. 103. It is also said that the speaker kept to his room for a day or two afterwards, but Story does not mention this.

faithful," and consulted with Irving in the summer whom he should invite.¹ It is striking to see the stress then laid upon passing events. The death of Mr. Canning, the formation of a Liberal administration under Mr. Robinson, afterwards Lord Ripon, and a war with Turkey seemed to the council to denote the near approach of the end.² Indeed, the sixth vial was supposed to foreshow the fall of the Ottoman Empire. A speech of Canning's, in which he expressed his apprehension of a terrible conflict of opinions, when opposing principles would become the groundwork of a general war, was eagerly seized upon as indicating the nearness of the battle of Armageddon.³ It was thought that there would soon be a general apostasy of the Church, and that the Jews would be the instruments of Almighty God's displeasure. It appeared to be almost taken for granted that the 'Time-state' of the Church militant would very soon close.

We have also the results of the fourth year as given generally in a book published by Mr. Drummond under the name of *Dialogues on Prophecy*. He professed to give only the results, not the entire course except in general and inexact outline which the discussions took, nor the words of the speakers; though Wolff in the first discussion is introduced under the name of Josephus, and Irving, as it appears, is called Anastasius, and Way Basilicus.⁴ The assembled party considered, what light was

¹ *Letter of Irving in Oliphant's Life*, p. 243.

² *Dialogues*, ii. 12.

³ *Ibid.* ii. 77.

⁴ *Wolff*, p. 377. He seems to have confused *Athanasius* with *Anastasius*. The author of the *Letter on certain statements in "The Old Church*

thrown upon that part of God's purpose which was yet unaccomplished ; first by the revelations given anterior to the law, then by the Mosaic law, then by the historical events of the Jewish nation, next by the prophecies given and referred to in the Gospels and Acts, and lastly in the Epistles. And they finished their session by examining the signs of the times. They imagined that the heaviest stress of judgment would fall upon England, as having been most highly blessed, and having made an inadequate use of her blessings.

It appears that some of their party, including Daniel Wilson, had already left them.¹ They deplored, too, the standing aloof of others, such as William Wilberforce and Chalmers.

In general, the conclusions at which they had arrived with "perfect unanimity" were the following :—

1. "That the present Christian dispensation is not to pass insensibly into the millennial state by gradual increase of the preaching of the gospel ; but that it is to be terminated by judgments, ending in the destruction of this visible Church and polity, in the same manner as the Jewish dispensation has been terminated.

2. "That during the time that these judgments are falling upon Christendom, the Jews will be restored to their own land.

Porch," p. 9, says, "Anastasius (this, as I am authentically informed, is not the name by which in these volumes Mr. Irving is designated—it is the designation of another party)." The author, who was the late Mr. Cardale, was not, I believe, present, and Wolff was. Internal evidence appears to confirm Wolff's statement.

¹ *Dialogues*, ii. 416.

3. "That the judgments will fall principally, if not exclusively, upon Christendom, and begin with that part of the Church of God which has been most highly favoured, and is therefore most deeply responsible.

4. "That the termination of these judgments is to be succeeded by that period of universal blessedness to all mankind, and even to the beasts, which is commonly called the millennium.

5. "That a great period of 1260 years commenced in the reign of Justinian, and terminated at the French Revolution, and that the vials of the Apocalypse began then to be poured out; that our blessed Lord will shortly appear, and that therefore it is the duty of all who so believe to press these considerations on the attention of all men."

Whether from any comparative failure, or through circumstances wholly unconnected with the meeting yet interfering with the natural sequel to it, or more probably from the sudden outbreak of supposed prophetic inspiration, which outleaped and cast into shade the previous deliberations, we have no authorized record of the last meeting in 1830.

But we may glean the following particulars. The students of prophecy who still held together met at Albury in July. Certain events in Scotland, where the spirit of prophecy was supposed to have arisen, were among the chief subjects discussed. On the last day of the meeting, the chairman, "a clergyman of the Church of England,"¹ delivered it as his opinion—in which he

¹ I find no record whether this was Hugh McNeile or not. He did not believe in the "manifestations" after examination; but this does not

was joined by the members of the conference : " That it is our duty to pray for the revival of the gifts manifested in the primitive Church ; which are wisdom, knowledge, faith, healing, miracles, prophecy, discovery of spirits, kinds of tongues, and interpretation of tongues ; and that a responsibility lies on us to enquire into the state of those gifts said to be now present in the west of Scotland." ¹ The meeting was a short one, not extending over three days.² From other causes the movements had now made a sudden advance.

During the period of these meetings, Irving had completed his translation of Ben Ezra's work on *The Coming of the Messiah in Glory and Majesty*. This he prefaced with two elaborate "Preliminary Dissertations." The book was widely read, owing to the great reputation of the editor, and powerfully aided in pushing onwards the minds of the rapidly growing party. And at the expense of Mr. Drummond, the *Morning Watch*, a quarterly periodical upon prophecy, was started. The first number, which owed a large part of its letter-press to the pen of Irving, came out in March, 1829. It was regularly continued till June, 1833, and was conducted with general ability, containing numerous articles on prophecy, a considerable portion of each number being devoted to subjects strictly theological, and reviews of books of the day. The editor was Mr. Tudor,³ described by Irving as "very preclude his having examined them carefully, or having supposed that there was *prima facie* ground for doing so.

¹ Letter in answer to "Old Church Porch," p. 13.

² Oliphant's *Letters of Irving*, pp. 296—298.


³ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 257.

learned, modest, and devout.”¹ Thus the prophetic views of the Albury party were steadily disseminated through their recognized organ, which ambitiously claimed a place amongst the first quarterlies of the day. But help, more powerful still, came from another quarter.

The Rev. J. Haldane Stewart, who was greatly depressed in mind by the low condition of religion throughout England, published a tract which was circulated widely, in which he pointed out what he conceived to be the only remedy. He urged people to give up their disagreements and recriminations, and to unite in prayer to Almighty God for an extensive outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Nor was he content with this; he also travelled about England and Scotland, preaching wherever he was allowed, whether in Churches or Dissenting Chapels. He exhorted all clergymen and ministers of the various denominations and heads of families to join in the prayer. And he suggested a form which all might use. Mr. Stewart appears to have induced a large number of people to combine in the supplication, which was couched in general terms, and after expressing the need felt, rested the question and mode of fulfilment wholly upon the wisdom of Almighty God.

[From the union of these two Movements sprang the religious Body whose history is being given.] Hitherto the movements had been shared by religious men of other tendencies. But now came a series of events by which their corporate birth was accomplished as a separate Body of Religionists.

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 273.



CHAPTER IV.

EARLY PROPHESYINGS.

UP to this time the movement had been a general one. It had arisen out of the reaction in the minds of men, who were entering a new period in the world's existence, against the narrow and effete system of religion accepted at the time, and it had taken direction and point from the vague feelings of expectation then afloat of coming and stirring events.

Irving was emphatically a child of the passing age. He had an openness of thought, a command of copious diction, and general powers of eloquence, which fitted him for an exponent of doctrines that did not square with the strait formulas of the Westminster divines. It was a new thing for the world to hear such teaching in a Scotch Presbyterian building. And accordingly in an amusing *brochure*, published in the autumn of 1823, which rapidly ran through eight editions,¹ representing Irving, who was then at the height of his popularity, as being on his trial before a full court of judges, while the sup-

¹ *Trial of the Rev. Edward Irving, M.A. A Cento of Criticism.* Ninth Edition, 1823.

posed defendant was acquitted on the six first counts of the indictment, as being ugly, a merry-andrew, a common quack, a common brawler, a common swearer, and of very common understanding, he was nevertheless condemned on the last, viz., "For following divisive courses, subversive of the discipline of the order to which he belongs, and contrary to the principles of Christian fellowship and charity." The editors of the various newspapers of the day are represented as being examined, and many of the leading politicians of the time, of both sides of politics, are supposed to be present, with the leaders also and the rank and file of fashion. The pamphlet is headed with five etchings of the preacher in five of his favourite attitudes.

Indeed Irving was not the only minister of the Established Kirk who at this time had been preaching that the redemption of the Cross was made for all mankind without distinction, instead of for an elect few who had been fore-ordained to salvation. In March of the year 1830, Mr. Campbell, minister of Row, near Glasgow, was arraigned before the Presbytery of Dumbarton for teaching the universality of Redemption. He was strongly supported both in this trial and in his appeal to the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr by Robert Story, his friend and Irving's. He was deprived of his living by an overwhelming majority in both courts, though Robert Story continued to minister at Rosneath till his death in 1859.¹

And in the same meeting of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr in 1831, Messrs. McLean and Scott were expelled

¹ *Life of Robert Story of Rosneath.*

from the Church. McLean had been ordained to the charge of the Scottish Church, London Wall, and Irving had delivered as the "charge" on that occasion one of his noblest orations. He was afterwards presented to the Church and parish of Dreghorn, Ayrshire, but objection was raised to his settlement there on the ground of his views respecting the Human Nature of our Lord, which agreed with those of Irving. Mr. Scott, who had been assistant to Irving in London, refused when appointed to a congregation at Woolwich to subscribe to the Westminster Confession of Faith.¹

Besides the general feeling which welcomed in the religious world the warm advocacy of the universality of salvation, in opposition to the horrible view of the extreme Calvinists of the creation of "vessels of wrath fitted for eternal destruction," and which, therefore, beyond the limits of his own Communion, regarded Irving with favour, the opinions on prophecy which issued from the little "parliament" at Albury met with wide acceptance. Although some adherents, as these opinions were crystallized into narrower applications, fell away, still they were to a great extent supported by many not of the inner circle. This is shown by a sermon preached at Cambridge Heath on the 17th of October, 1830, by the Rev. Hugh McNeile, afterwards D.D. and Dean of Ripon, and published later on, and by a paper under the title of *The Christian Dispensation Miraculous*, by the Rev. Thomas Boys, which first appeared in the *Jewish Expositor* for February, 1831, and was afterwards separ-

¹ *Life of Robert Story of Rosneath*, p. 187.

ately published, with a dedication to the then Bishop of London. Many of the Evangelical party accepted these opinions, some of which won a much wider assent, and indeed are held by a considerable number of Churchmen at the present day.

But in 1830 things happened in Scotland and in England which proved to be the touchstone of the new belief. Many were staggered and turned back; others marched on to further points of progress.

In the parish of Rosneath, on the borders of that of Row, at a place called Fernicarry, lived a family of the name of Campbell. At their house Story and his friend John McLeod Campbell, who has been already mentioned, but bore no relationship to the family, used often to meet. A child of the family named Isabella had died in 1828 with so high a reputation for sanctity that more than 6000 copies of a memoir of her written by Story were sold in a few weeks.¹ The name of Mary Campbell, her sister, occurred often in the pages of the memoir, and many people came to Fernicarry to see the scene of Isabella's life, and her surviving sister, who was a dress-maker. About this time a young man died to whom she was engaged to be married, and Mary Campbell, who had intended to exchange her occupation of dressmaking for missionary life in union with him, was so upset by the loss that she was confined to her room, and was supposed to be on the verge of the disease, a species of consumption, which carried off her sister. "She was a woman of great personal attractions, had a beautiful face and soft

¹ *Life of Robert Story*, p. 138.

eyes, with drooping lids, which she seldom raised. She was very clever, and, considering her obscure circumstances, was well-informed."¹ No encouragement was given her by Story, who occasionally uttered homely truths to her and to her admirers. It must not, however, be imagined that the conversation in her room included anything but of a strongly religious nature. An idea lately broached by Irving, that bodily disease came direct from Satan, and that it could be cured, therefore, by faith and prayer, and the expected restoration of spiritual gifts as bearing upon mission work, were topics frequently debated in her chamber. A dying brother seems to have gained but little notice. She professed that she was engaged in the study of languages as a preparation for mission work, and was looking out "every day for the gift of tongues, &c., being poured out upon the Church."²

"At last, on a Sunday evening in the month of March, when a few of her friends were present, Mary Campbell began to utter sounds to them incomprehensible, and believed by her to be a tongue such as of old might have been spoken on the day of Pentecost or among the Christians of Corinth. This was the first manifestation of the restored 'gift,' for such it was imagined to be. She desired to ascertain what the tongue was, in order that she might, if strengthened to do so, repair to the country where it was intelligible, and there begin her long-contemplated labours. By and by she announced that she believed it to be the language of a

¹ *Life of Robert Story*, p. 194.

² Letter to Story. *Life of Robert Story*, p. 202.

group of islands in the Southern Pacific Ocean, but as nobody knew the speech of the islanders, it was impossible either to refute or corroborate her assertion, and, for the present at least, she was unable to proceed in person in quest of the remote savages whose mother-tongue she held had been revealed to her."¹

About this time another and an independent origin was being made for the supposed spiritual gifts. At the little town of Port Glasgow, about fifteen miles from Fernicarry, lived two brothers, James and George Macdonald, working as ship-builders, with their sister Margaret, apparently a confirmed invalid. She "had been confined to a sick bed for eighteen months, with no other expectation or desire than that of departing to be with Christ."² The trio were enthusiastically religious. They had been greatly affected by the holy example of an old man named James Grubb, who had died not long before, and to whom Irving appears to have made special reference in one of his writings. "There appeared about this time in the death-bed experience of certain holy persons very wonderful instances of the power of God's Holy Spirit, both in the way of discernment and utterance, and also apparent glory. They were able to know the condition of God's people at a distance, and to pray for the very things which they needed; they were able to search the hearts of persons in their presence. In one instance the countenance shone with a glorious brightness, as if it had

¹ *Life of Robert Story*, pp. 204, 205.

² *Memoirs of James and George Macdonald*, by Robert Norton, M.D., p. 101.

been the face of an angel ; they spake much of a bright dawn about to arise in the Church, and one of them just before death signified that he had received a knowledge of the thing that was about to be manifested, but he was too far gone to give it utterance. It came like a halo over the soul of the departing saint to cheer him on his way, but it was not intended for communication."¹ The Macdonalds were strong believers in assurance, and they had also embraced the teaching concerning the universality of God's love, of the Human Nature of our Lord, and about the millennial Reign, and the miraculous endowments of the Church, which were now identified with the name of Irving. A sermon preached by Mr. A. Scott, then Irving's assistant, upon the permanence of the miraculous power of the Holy Spirit in the Church, and the probable manifestation of it, first brought this latter subject before their minds.² They attached themselves as far as they could to Mr. Campbell's teaching, even going so far as to take lodgings at Row for the purpose. They held special prayer-meetings in their own house, and the minister of their parish refused to allow them to become teachers in his Sunday school, and preached against them.³ One morning in the early part of 1830 Miss Macdonald felt more unwell than usual, and apparently was rapt in spirit into the next world. Her brothers did not attach any remarkable importance to this phenomenon, but accounted for it by the thought that she was dying, and had in that way realized

¹ *Memoirs of J. and G. Macdonald*, p. 75.

² *Morning Watch*, v. 182.

³ *Memoirs of J. and G. Macdonald*.

her nearness to the eternal world. Nearly two months after, in April, she was so ill that they imagined that her decease must be close at hand. "She had scarcely been able even to have her bed made for a week," but on a sudden one morning she broke forth, saying that "there will be a mighty baptism of the Spirit this day," into a most marvellous setting forth of the wonderful works of God, and, as if her own weakness had been altogether lost in the strength of the Holy Ghost, continued with little or no intermission for two or three hours, in mingled praise, prayer, and exhortation. At dinner-time James and George came home as usual, whom she then addressed at great length, concluding with a solemn prayer for James, that he might *at that time* be endowed with the power of the Holy Ghost. Almost instantly James calmly said, "I have got it." He walked to the window "and stood silent for a minute or two. I looked at him and almost trembled, there was such a change in his whole countenance. He then, with a step and manner of almost indescribable majesty, walked up to Margaret's bedside, and addressed her in the words of the twentieth Psalm, 'Arise, and stand upright.' He repeated the words, took her by the hand, and she arose; when we all quietly sat down and took our dinner. After it my brothers went to the building-yard as usual, where James wrote over to Miss C——," *i. e.* Mary Campbell, "commanding her in the name of the Lord to arise. The next morning, after breakfast, James said, 'I am going down to the quay to see if Miss —— is come across the water;' at which we expressed our surprise, as he had said

nothing to us of having written to her. The result showed how much he knew of what God had done and would do for her, for she came as he expected, declaring herself perfectly whole. Rumour of all that had passed got abroad, and for two days our house was scarcely ever empty of visitors. Satan, alas! was busy also, trying to create confusion and mar the work of God, and unhappily too far succeeded in some, to our grief, but especially that of James, than whom no one could more anxiously watch against the minglings of the devil and the flesh."¹

The account given by Mary Campbell of her own recovery—omitting surplusage—is as follows:—"On the Saturday previous to my restoration to health, I was very ill, suffering from pain in my chest and breathlessness. On the Sabbath, I was very ill, and lay for several hours in a state of insensibility Next day I was worse than I had been for several weeks previous (the agony of Saturday excepted). On Tuesday I was no better. On Wednesday I did not feel so languid, but was suffering some pain from breathing and palpitation of my heart. Two individuals who saw me about four hours before my recovery said I would never be strong; that I was not to expect a miracle to be wrought upon me It was not long after until I received dear brother James Macdonald's letter, giving an account of his sister's being raised up, and commanding me to 'rise and walk.' I had scarcely read the first page when I was overpowered, and laid it aside for a few minutes; but I

¹ *Memoirs of J. and G. Macdonald*, pp. 108, 109.

had no rest in my mind until I took it up again, and began to read. As I read every word came home with power, and when I came to the command to rise, it came home with a power which no words can describe ; it was felt to be indeed the Voice of Christ ; it was such a Voice as could not be resisted ; a mighty power was instantaneously exerted upon me ; I felt as if I had been lifted from off the earth, and all my diseases taken off me at the voice of Christ. I was verily made in a moment to stand upon my feet, leap and walk, sing and rejoice."

"A few evenings after the above occurrences, during a prayer-meeting, George, in whom nothing supernatural had ever previously appeared, and whose natural caution had made him the last of the family to welcome the supernatural manifestations in others, began suddenly to speak in an unknown tongue ; James followed him ; and thus commenced that speaking with tongues which never afterwards wholly ceased."¹

[There was naturally great excitement in the religious circles in the neighbourhood when these events became known. Prayer-meetings were held, which were largely attended. Amongst other features, the desire for apostles, and the expectation that they would be sent, was prevalent. "I remember," said an eye-witness, "hearing the cry in the spirit, 'Send us apostles! send us apostles!' The room used to ring with it."² The Macdonalds appear to have acted with quiet modesty, pursuing the even tenor of their lives, attending to their business, though

¹ *Memoirs of J. and G. Macdonald*, pp. 109, 110.

² *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 25.

by no means neglecting what they believed to be their spiritual gifts. They were often pressingly invited to go to London, where they would have been maintained by the "affluent and influential members of Mr. Irving's congregation, who would doubtless have made most generous and honourable provision for them." But they declined, and preferred to stay amidst their occupation of shipbuilding, and in the religious duties of their station, "simply because they could not see that the Lord was calling them there, and, as they said, felt it would be doubly inexcusable in them to run before Him."¹

Both the brothers died in the year 1835, of consumption, after consistent and blameless lives, whatever may be thought of their arrogated spiritual gifts. Their relation towards Irvingism will be shown in the sequel.

Mary Campbell now began to sustain without reserve the part of a gifted prophetess. She expounded, prophesied, and spoke before crowded meetings. Some of her utterances she stated to be in Turkish, some in the language of the Pellew islands, where she was called as a missionary. It may not be out of place here to anticipate some parts of her future career. She married, in 1831, a young man named W. R. Caird, who was a clerk in a writer's office in Edinburgh, and had been one of the visitors at Fernicarry, having been led there by the memoir of Isabella Campbell. They intended to go out together as missionaries, to which life she had been called, as she alleged, by the Holy Ghost, in a Voice which she

¹ *Memoirs of J. and G. Macdonald*, p. 199.

heard saying, that unless she "rose and proceeded without delay to declare the gospel to the heathen, she and her father's house would perish." So strong was her feeling, and so well was it known amongst her friends, that Story warned her future husband that he could not possibly marry her, unless he was going to devote himself to the life to which she had so solemnly averred that she had been called. (On their way out as missionaries, they came up to London to see Irving, and afterwards went to Brampton Park, at the invitation of Lady Olivia Sparrow, where Mr. Caird acted as a lay missionary. Then they came up to London, and went down to Albury Park, as "the guests of Mr. Drummond," where they mainly stayed during the remainder of Mrs. Caird's life. She, however, went on an expedition to Canada, and into Switzerland, besides visiting different parts of England and Scotland.¹

This failure on her part in carrying out the purpose so strongly entertained and expressed in the early part of her career, and enforced as she asserted with such high and overwhelming sanction, led Mr. Story to pass a strong condemnation upon her, and appears to have been one of the reasons which caused him to stand aloof from Irving and his friends when they organized their new religious Community. It must be remembered that Story was intimately acquainted with the origin of the supposed spiritual gifts, so that his judgment was more than ordinarily important. (He was never thoroughly impressed with their

¹ *A letter to the Rev. R. H. Story, &c., from W. R. Caird, minister of the gospel.* Edinburgh: Thomas Lawrie, London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1863, pp. 7, 17.

genuineness, though for a time he looked upon them with favour.) The ambitious forwardness, as he judged it, of Mary Campbell repelled him in earlier days; and in later times, what seemed to him to be the inconsistency between her early aspirations and plans, which she ascribed to direct commands from heaven, and her subsequent acquiescence in the luxury provided for her by the bounty of the master of Albury Park.¹ Mr. Caird² has ascribed this change of bearing towards his wife, on the part of the Scotch minister, to a dispute about money matters. But there does not appear to be sufficient ground for such a charge, though Story may have been led by a want of cordiality to express openly what as her friend and early Pastor he had causes for feeling. The reasons which he states are definite and strong. Mrs. Caird, however, was highly esteemed amongst her friends in the new teaching, and was regarded as one who lived remarkably near to God.³ She died in 1840.

Various enquiries were made at this time into the genuineness of these alleged spiritual gifts. Story suspended, as has been said, judgment till more observation should enable him to arrive at a conclusion, and Chalmers joined in the enquiry. And by his means some of the utterances in the "tongues," which had been reduced to writing, were submitted to Sir George Staunton, and to Dr. Pusey and Dr. Lee, the Professors of Hebrew in the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who were unable to identify them as couched in any known language.

¹ *Life of Robert Story*, pp. 212—223.

² *Letter to Rev. R. H. Story*.

³ *The purpose of God in Creation and Redemption*, p. 152, note. Norton's *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 188.

(As was stated in the last chapter, these phenomena formed an important part of the deliberations at the last prophetic council at Albury, held in July of this year. In the month of September, Mr. Cardale, Dr. Thompson, and Mr. Henderson, and three ladies,¹ went into Scotland to examine for themselves and others into these cases. They were all members of the Church of England, and only one of them was also a member of Mr. Irving's congregation.² Mr. Cardale was supposed to be specially fitted for such an investigation by his habits and training as a lawyer; and the medical experience of Dr. Thompson seemed to complete the requisites needed.

The report of Mr. Cardale and his friends, who had gone to examine solely of their own accord, was eminently favourable. After an experience lasting for three weeks or more, it appeared to be settled to Mr. Cardale's conviction, that the unknown tongues were a language. For the voices "were in connection with each other, euphonious; many of them were evidently inflected; and they conveyed the impression of being well formed and cadenced languages."³ He added: "These persons, while uttering the unknown sounds, as also while speaking in the spirit in their own language, have every appearance of being under supernatural direction. The manner and voice are (speaking generally) different from what they use at other times, and on ordinary occasions. This difference does not consist merely in the peculiar solemnity

¹ *Mr. Cardale's letter to Mr. Ker. Observations, &c., p. 15.*

² *Letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in "The Old Church Porch," entitled Irvingism, pp. 13, 14.*

³ *Letter by J. B. Cardale, in Morning Watch, ii. 872.*

and fervour of manner (which they possess), but their whole deportment gives an impression not to be conveyed by words, that their organs are made use of by supernatural power. In addition to their outward appearances, their own declarations, as the declarations of honest, pious, and sober individuals, may with propriety be taken in evidence. They declare that their organs of speech are made use of by the Spirit of God, and that they utter that which is given to them, and not the expressions of their own conceptions or their own intention. But I had numerous opportunities of observing a variety of facts fully confirmatory of this. Whatever might have been the apparent exertion employed, I repeatedly observed that it had no exhausting effect upon them ; that neither loudness of voice nor vehemence of action discomposed or exhausted them.”¹ Four persons received the gift whilst the party was staying at Port Glasgow.

Later in the year, another case occurred in England, which had no connection with the events in the north-west. A young woman, named Elizabeth Fancourt, daughter of an English clergyman, had been for eighteen months afflicted with a hip complaint. The disease had several aggravated features. A few weeks before the cure was effected Miss Fancourt attempted to walk. She could scarcely “put one foot before the other; the limbs trembled very much.” “Thus it continued till the 20th of October, 1830,” to quote her own account, “when a kind friend, who had seen me about two months before, had been led by God to pray earnestly for my

¹ Mr. Cardale's letter, *Morning Watch*, ii. 872.

recovery, remembering what is written, 'Whatsoever ye shall ask in prayer, believing, ye shall receive.' He asked in faith, and God graciously answered his prayer. On Wednesday night, my friends being about to leave the room, Mr. G. begged to be excused a short time. Sitting near me, we talked of his relatives, and of the death of his brother; rising, he said, 'They will expect me at supper,' and put out his hand.

"After asking some questions respecting the disease, he added, 'It is melancholy to see a person so constantly confined.' I answered, 'It is sent in mercy.' 'Do you think so? Do you think the same mercy would restore you?' God gave me faith, and I answered, 'Yes.' 'Do you believe Jesus could heal, as in old times?' 'Yes.' 'Do you believe that Jesus could heal you at this very time?' 'Yes.' (Between these questions he was evidently engaged in prayer.) 'Then,' he added, 'get up and walk to your family.' He then had hold of my hand. He prayed to God to glorify the name of Jesus. I rose from my couch quite strong. God took away all my pains, and we walked down-stairs. Dear Mr. G. prayed most fervently, 'Lord, have mercy upon us! Christ, have mercy upon us!' Having been down a short time, finding my handkerchief left on the couch, I fetched it. The next day I walked more than a quarter of a mile, and on Sunday from the Episcopal Jews' chapel, more than one mile and a quarter. Up to this time God continues to strengthen me, and I am perfectly well. To Jesus be all the glory. It is material to add that my legs, the flesh of which was loose and flabby, feeling them a short

time after I walked down, were firm as those of a person in full health. The back, which was curved, is now perfectly straight. My collar-bones have been pronounced by a surgeon to be in quite a natural state, whereas one of them was before much enlarged. I must tell you that my mind had not been at all occupied with those events which had taken place in Scotland.”¹

Such was the case of Miss Fancourt as related in her own words. It will be observed, that this is no instance of “unknown tongues,” or of alleged prophesying, but simply a cure regarded as miraculous. In defence of this view, it was urged that the promise of miracles was given² by our Lord, and that miracles have occurred in all ages of the Church, depending only upon the faith at any particular time.³ It is asserted, too, that since this case there have been numerous cures wrought amongst the Irvingites: so much so, indeed, that the number of reported instances is said to have reached in one year the total of forty-six in England alone, being only such as were sufficiently important to be reported.⁴

We have so far had the isolated instances of a supposed outpouring of the Holy Spirit in Scotland, and a solitary case of an imagined miraculous character in England, like the two in the north. There was yet an interval to be crossed before the utterances or the cures became at all general.

¹ *Miss Fancourt's Letter to a Friend.*


² St. John xv. 13.

³ *Morning Watch*, iii. 150.

⁴ Norton's *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 91.

CHAPTER V.

PROPHESYINGS IN LONDON.

N the return of Messrs. Cardale and Henderson and Dr. Thompson to London in October, a meeting was held to consider the results of their mission. It was attended, amongst others, by Mr. Irving and by several clergymen of the Church of England. The evidence placed before the meeting produced conviction of the reality of the spiritual gifts in the minds of most of those who were present, so far as they could come to a conclusion upon occurrences not witnessed by themselves.¹

[From this time prayer-meetings were held in private houses, in which those who believed in the prospect of the outpouring of the Holy Spirit met together to pray for the revival of spiritual gifts. They were not members of any one congregation especially, nor does it appear that Irving held any recognized position amongst them except as an occasional attendant, and from the prestige naturally attached to him. Mr. Cardale opened his house for a weekly prayer-meeting. But several months

Letter, &c., p. 14.

elapsed before there appeared to be any sensible answer to their prayers.

At length, on the 30th of April, 1831, the first case occurred in London. Mrs. Cardale spoke with great solemnity in a tongue and prophesied. There were three distinct sentences in an unknown tongue, and three in English. The latter were, "The Lord will speak to His people,—the Lord hasteneth His coming,—the Lord cometh." She repeated the last words several times "with gradually increasing and then diminishing strength and loudness."¹ Soon after this, at one of the same meetings, Mrs. Cardale spoke twice, and Miss Hall "sang in the Spirit."

These events were duly notified to Mr. Baptist Noel,² the clergyman of the parish, with a request for his sanction. This he not only refused, but he preached publicly against these supposed spiritual gifts. Nevertheless Mr. Cardale and his family continued for some months to attend the church, till at length, considering themselves to be virtually excommunicated, they withdrew to the pastoral charge of another clergyman, and at length took refuge with Irving.

Immediately after Mrs. Cardale's first utterance, Mrs. Caird and her husband came to London in search of missionary work. An arrangement was immediately made for them to go to Brampton Park, in Huntingdonshire, to the house of Lady Olivia Sparrow, and they consequently stayed in London only a few weeks.

All this time there had been no meetings held in

¹ *Norton*, p. 42.

² *Morning Watch*, v. 185.

Irving's church for special prayer for the expected outpouring. But early in May, when the general assembly was meeting in Edinburgh to decide upon the cases of Messrs. Campbell, Maclean, and Scott, he invited his congregation to come together every morning at seven o'clock to pray for guidance for the Scottish assembly. This was the beginning of the morning services, which were never afterwards intermitted.¹

In course of time, some young men of the congregation asked to be allowed to meet in the vestry, which would contain about a hundred persons, for the purpose of praying for the outpouring, besides the public service already instituted, which, as has been just related, was started with another object. Irving consented, and agreed to preside over their meetings; and, when the numbers overflowed the vestry, held them in the church. They, too, waited for several months: when one morning, Mr. Taplin, on beginning to read the forty-third chapter of Isaiah, burst forth in a voice of thunder, uttering a few words "in an unknown tongue," ending with "Jehovah, hear us!" in English. On the next morning, the same speaker said with a superhuman shout, "It is thou, O Britain: thou art the anointed cherub." On the third morning, "The Lord hath come down. He is in the midst of you. His eye hath seen, His heart hath pitied the affliction of His people, and He will deliver them. He will not leave a hoof behind."

Mr. Taplin, who thus led the way in public utterances, was destined to exercise a considerable influence

¹ *Letter, &c.*, p. 15.

over his co-religionists. He was the son of a Clergyman, who, after being in the ministry for upwards of fifty years, died at the age of ninety. He was considered to be well acquainted with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and to be a good mathematician, as well as deeply versed in the Holy Scriptures. There is no reason to suppose him to have been otherwise than thoroughly honest and sincere in his belief; and afterwards, in order to devote himself to the work, he gave up a considerable source of revenue for a small income. He was possessed of strong powers of imagination, and was regarded as the chief means of "light" to the community, many of whose doctrines were due to his enunciation. At the same time, he is said to have been at heart as humble as he was upright and persevering.

Soon after Taplin's appearance as a prophet, one or two females of the congregation "spoke with tongues," and prophesied in private houses. Irving doubted whether for obvious reasons he ought not to prevent a public exercise of such "gifts" as these. Yet by degrees having been told by the prophets that he was restraining the voice of God, and fearing to commit the sin of quenching the Holy Spirit, he permitted it, but only as yet in the early morning meetings.

At length, on Sunday, October 16th, 1831, when the chapter was just finished at the forenoon service, Miss Hall left her seat in great agitation, and went hastily into the vestry, and shutting the door, spoke by herself, first in an "unknown tongue," and ending with the words in English, "How dare ye to suppress the Voice of the

Lord?"¹ The confusion in the congregation of some 1500 or 2000 persons, as they listened to the "sudden, doleful, and unintelligible sounds," may be imagined. "Mr. Irving begged for attention, and when order was restored, he explained the occurrence, which he said was not new, except in the congregation, where he had been for some time considering the propriety of introducing the habit; but, though satisfied of the correctness of such a measure, he was afraid of dispersing the flock; nevertheless, as it was now brought forward by God's will, he felt it his duty to submit. He then said he would change the discourse intended for the day, and expound the fourteenth chapter of Corinthians, in order to elucidate what had just happened. The sister was now returning to her seat, and Mr. Irving, observing her from the pulpit, said, in an affectionate tone, 'Console yourself, sister! console yourself!' He then proceeded with the discourse."²

But the prophetess did not let him off so easily. In an interview which he had with her immediately after service, accompanied by his elders and deacons, he was reminded in prophetic language, that "Jesus hid not His face from shame and spitting; and that His servants must be content to follow Him without the camp, bearing His reproach." Poor Irving sunk on a chair, and groaned aloud in distress of spirit. Thenceforward the prophets had their way with him.

The news of the scene in church in the morning ran rapidly about through London. In the evening, a large

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 16.

² Pilkington's *Unknown Tongues*, p. 10.

crowd assembled, and, on the opening of the doors, rushed into the church. There was a great deal of suppressed confusion during the early part of the service. But when Irving had just finished his discourse, Mr. Taplin broke out in a voice which seemed like a crash powerful enough to burst the roof; first in a tongue, and then in English:—"Why will ye flee from the Voice of God? The Lord is in the midst of you. Why will ye flee from His Voice? Ye cannot flee from it in the Day of Judgment." The consternation was intense. Screams were heard, and some people rushed to the doors. Fortunately some of the doors were shut, or loss of life might have ensued. Irving had recourse immediately to prayer, reiterating, "O Lord, still the tumult of this people." Calmness followed, and Irving announced that in the morning service on Sundays the gifts might be exercised, but that he would not again run the risk of such a scene as they had witnessed that night, by permitting their use in the evening.

The prophesyings now continued at the morning meetings on week-days. These were attended, notwithstanding the early hour at which they were held,—at half-past six throughout the winter,—by nearly a thousand persons daily.¹ The cholera was expected, and was made this winter the subject of a prophecy by Mr. Baxter, that England, in consequence of the ravages of that disease, would become a charnel-house of dead. After the hesitation recorded, which actuated him for some time, Irving at length removed all restrictions, and,

¹ *Letter of Irving*, 7th November, 1831.

trusting for the safety of his congregation and of himself only in the Divine protection, yielded, as he said, to the will of the Great Head of the Church, and permitted prophesyings at all services without reserve. This aroused the opposition of those members of the Scottish congregation who objected to such disturbances, as they deemed them, of their worship. At first some rumblings of the approaching storm were heard in the strictures of the *Times* newspaper. These gradually increased in frequency and intensity, till the storm burst over Irving which will be related in the next chapter.

Indeed at this time Irving was drawn in two directions. He did not wish either for himself to lose, or for their sakes to repel, his numerous supporters in the Scottish congregation, who had followed him ever since he came to London. He knew well how alien from the turn of their ordinary thoughts, and from the course of their religion, was the exercise of the supposed spiritual gifts. He wanted to delay employment of these in public till more of those who had hitherto been his firm friends were convinced, and also to keep the prophets in the background, so as not to interfere with the regular Sunday services. But a chasm divided his new friends from his old which could not be bridged over. The "gifts" were irrepressible. They required for their control more determination than he possessed, a submission to their claims not so ready and not so acquiescent, more tact and worldly management, fewer scruples and less sensitiveness.

Hence throughout this winter the prophets had

almost free play. Amongst them were Mr. Taplin already mentioned, Miss Emily Cardale, Mrs. Caird, Miss Hall, Miss Smith, Mrs. Cardale, and Mr. Baxter. Specimens of their utterances at this time have been preserved. For example,—“Stand on the Word, stand on the written Word, stand on the Word.” Again, “Die daily, die daily, die daily.”¹ And in the “unknown tongue:”—*Ythis dil emma sumo*, supposed to mean, “I will undertake this dilemma;” *Hozeghin alta stare*, “Jesus in the highest;” *Holimothe holif awthaw*, “Holy, most Holy Father;” *Hoze hamena nostra*, “Jesus will take our hands,” or “direct us;” *Casa sera hastha caro*, “This house will still be in My care.”² The crashing outbreak of Mr. Taplin’s utterances is described as if *cras-cran-cra-crash* were violently shouted out with a stentorian voice. It was followed by such expressions as, “Abide in Him! abide in Him! abide in Him! Ye shall behold His glory! ye shall behold His glory! ye shall behold His glory.”³ Dr. McNeile distinctly heard Taplin utter amongst other sounds more than once, *amamini*, *amaminor*, words which irresistibly remind us of the speaker’s scholastic duties in his “academy.”⁴

But generally the tongues remained unknown. It was

¹ Norton’s *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 64.

² Pilkington’s *Unknown Tongues*.

³ *A Morning Visit to the Rev. E. Irving’s, and an Inquiry, &c., by Anti-Cábala*, 1832.

⁴ “I heard Mr. Taplin, and what I heard was this. I write it in all seriousness before God, without scoff, or sneer, or ridicule, but simply and *bona fide* description of what I heard. It was neither more nor less than is commonly called jargon, uttered *ore rotundo*, and mingled with Latin words, among which I heard more than once, *amamini*, *amaminor*.”—*Letters to a Friend, &c.*, by Hugh McNeile, p. 112.

considered not at all necessary for the speaker to understand them. Interpretation is held to belong to others than the prophets themselves, lest they should have too much individuality in the affair, and too much power. Mrs. Caird wrote down some of her utterances when she was in Scotland, and when they were supposed to be in some existing language, she herself believing this to be the language of the Pellew Islands, and as has been said, they were submitted by Chalmers to Sir G. Staunton, Dr. Pusey, and Dr. Lee. The opinion of all was against their belonging to any language upon earth. The latter said: "Whatever it (*i. e.* the paper) contains—if, indeed, it contains anything—must for ever remain a mystery to me, for I am quite unable to attach any meaning, sound, &c., to the characters in which it is written. My *opinion* is, that it contains neither character nor language known in any region under the sun; and this, without laying any claim to miraculous powers, I will venture to predict will turn out the case. If the authoress of these papers has indeed a miraculous gift of tongues, why does she not at once make out the proof, by giving out a composition in some tongue confessedly known to a few at least? This would put an end to all possible doubt; and this, too, was the sort of proof given in the apostolic times. We do hear them," &c.¹ This opinion has been amply confirmed by subsequent experience. No language upon earth has been found to har-

¹ *The Church's Broken Unity. Presbyterianism and Irvingism*, edited by the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett, vicar of Froome-Selwood. London: J. T. Hayes, p. 192.

monize with these "tongues ;" and the believers in them have uniformly grounded their defence upon the admission of their being in no known language, arguing that they are needed only to draw attention by their supernatural character to the speech which they preface, not to express any meaning of themselves, or to be a sign of any ability in the utterer to hold communication in a language not learnt by them in the natural way.

At the same time we must, in justice, observe that there was a very remarkable character of awe-striking solemnity about these utterances. "Do you know," said one of the prophets, "what it is to have the Word of God as a fire in your bones?" To many a mysterious power seemed to bear along the speaker almost without his or her origination, or even connivance. The rapt attention that prevailed around, the unearthly sounds that preceded the more articulate speech, the scathing rebuke that was often administered to unbelief, and the strong religious tone that was conspicuous in all that was said, added to the fear of God's judgments which had been previously excited in men's minds, commended these utterances as being a direct interposition from Above. Many people concluded that they must be supernatural ; and, if so, that they could not issue from below, in consequence of the earnest religion which breathed, as they thought, in every word.

Mr. Baxter, in a passage written after he left the companionship of these people, describes his own experience as follows : "I found on a sudden, in the midst of my accustomed course, a power coming upon me

which was altogether new, an unnatural, and in many cases an appalling utterance given to me ; matters uttered by me, in the power of which I had never thought, and many of which I did not understand until long after they were uttered ; an enlarged comprehension and clearness of view given to me on points which were really the truth of God (though mingled with many things which I have since seen not to be the truth) ; great setting out of Christ ; great nearness of communion with God in the midst of the workings of the power—the course of the power quite contrary to the course of excitement. It was manifest to me that the power was supernatural ; it was, therefore, a spirit. It seemed to bear testimony to Christ, and to work the fruits of the Spirit of God ; and if so, the deduction was immediate, that it ought in all things to be obeyed.”¹ Manifestations so impressive, coming after a long period of supplication, during which these people had, individually and conjointly, eagerly longed and earnestly prayed for the descent of the Holy Spirit, led many to conclude that Almighty God had indeed interposed, and was Himself preparing, where man failed, for the expected consummation of the present dispensation.

Of the prophets and prophetesses mentioned above, Mr. Baxter and Miss Hall soon retired, and pronounced that they had been under a delusion. Miss Hall, who was governess in Mr. Spencer Perceval's family, had recanted before Irving's trial, and fell away, but no particulars have been given of her recantation or

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, p. 22.

fall. Mr. Baxter's case is very remarkable, and he has described it himself in a narrative which he soon after gave to the world.

He had been for some time known to Irving as a man of great religious earnestness. In the winter of 1831-2, he came up to London on various occasions, from Doncaster, where he lived, chiefly on his professional business as a solicitor. On the first of these occasions, when attending a prayer-meeting, he was much struck with some utterances by Mr. Taplin and Miss E. Cardale: "Those who have heard the powerful and commanding utterance need no description; but they who have not may conceive what an unnatural and unaccustomed tone of voice, an intense and riveting power of expression, with the declaration of a cutting rebuke to all who were present, and applicable to my own state of mind in particular, would effect upon me, and upon others who were come together, expecting to hear the Voice of the Spirit of God." The consequence was that Mr. Baxter, like Saul, caught the infection, and, to his own great surprise, yet with the general belief of those who heard him that he was inspired, actually prophesied.

He now betook himself to fasting and prayer, and did not return to London for several months. But in January, 1832, he went to one of the morning services, and "the power" came upon him, and not long afterwards, on one occasion, at a small private meeting, it seemed to rest upon him all the evening. "The things which I was to utter flashed in upon my mind without

forethought, without expectation, and without any plan or arrangement, all this the work of the moment, and I was as the passive instrument of the power which used me." Mrs. Caird, Mrs. and Miss Cardale, Miss Hall, and Mr. Taplin, all recognized Mr. Baxter as equally gifted with themselves.¹

One morning, hearing from Mr. Irving after breakfast that Mr. Tudor had found the "power mightily on him" in the Court of Chancery, but never found utterance, Mr. Baxter "was made in power to declare, 'There go I, and thence to the prison-house.' This was followed by a prophecy setting forth the darkness of the visible Church; . . . that a testimony should that day be borne before the Chancellor which should make the nation tremble at what was coming to pass; that I was to go and bear this testimony, and for this testimony should be cast into prison." He gave a benediction to all present, as if he was bidding them good-bye for some time.

But in the Court of Chancery, after standing before the Lord Chancellor for three or four hours, no power came upon him. Feeling that he was deluded, he returned to Mr. Irving, saying, "We are snared, we are deceived; I had no message before the Chancellor." But at the morning prayer-meeting, on the next day, Miss E. Cardale uttered, "It is discernment ye lack; seek ye for it;" and Mr. Baxter was made to say, "'The word of the Lord is fire; and if ye, O vessel, who speak, refuse to speak the word, ye shall utterly perish! Ye

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, p. 19.

have obeyed the word of the Lord, ye went to the place of testimony, the Spirit was quenched before the conscience of the king ; ye, a spiritual minister, have borne witness there, and were ye not cast into prison ? Has not the dark dungeon been your prison-house since ye came from the place of testimony ? Ye lack discernment, ye must read the word spiritually ; the abomination of desolation is set up ; the Spirit of God is quenched in all the churches of the land ; and now the mystical man of sin is enthroned, and sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.' Then followed a command to flee to the mountains, to come out of Babylon and be separate, and much more concerning the Lord's work, and the duty of His people. This acted like electricity. I thought, and those who had heard the message of the former morning thought with me, that read spiritually, in which way I ought to have read it, the message concerning the Chancellor had been fulfilled by my silent testimony and my subsequent darkness and bondage. My satisfaction was complete, though now, I confess, it seems to me but a deep subtlety for explaining away a manifest failure of the word."¹

This is Mr. Baxter's own account of the occurrence and of the sequel to it. Irving and his circle were entirely satisfied with this spiritual interpretation of a prediction which most people would consider to have been falsified by the event. That their conclusion from the facts remained permanently with the adherents to the new teaching is shown by the following words, written

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, pp. 27, 28.

more than a quarter of a century afterwards: "Mr. Baxter, hastily interpreting and acting upon words spoken *by himself* to himself, unordained, unsent forth, uncalled to any work of ministry at this time, except *by himself*, thought to bear this testimony in an unlawful and unscriptural method. He went to the place of testimony; and through this means, and in consequence of this mistake on his part, God's Spirit was quenched before the king's representative; and assuredly the consequence of it was that Mr. Baxter was cast into prison—into bondage of spirit, from which it is possible that he was never subsequently delivered."¹

Mr. Baxter was a prolific deliverer of prophecies, which met with general acceptance in the society. Thus, he predicted "that God had cut short the present appointment for ordaining ministers by the laying on of hands by succession from the Apostles." He had previously said, "that in 1260 days from January 14th, 1832, the Lord Jesus would come again in glory; the living saints would be caught up to meet Him, and the dead saints would be raised; that the man of sin should be Louis Napoleon, who would overthrow the Protestant Church, and the Papacy, and then stand forth, exercising all the mighty power and working of evil spirits, and claiming and receiving for himself the worship of all nations, as the Christ of God come again upon the earth to establish His kingdom."² After some similar prophecies, he left

¹ Letter on certain statements contained in some late articles in the *Old Church Porch*, &c. London: Charles Goodall, p. 55. The italics are in the original. It is no secret that this letter came from Mr. Cardale's pen.

² Baxter's *Narrative*, p. 31.

London for a time, and on his way predicted that "he should be taken away from his wife and family, and become as a wanderer, without home or habitation." After passing through his stay in the country in a state of great excitability, he returned to London. There he was greeted by Miss Cardale, "Did ye feel the touch of the enemy? Did ye mark his deceit? Watch, for the enemy lieth in wait."¹ With respect to the prediction concerning his wife, the prophetess said, "Ye must not leave her."² Mr. Baxter explained the opposition between the two prophecies, by supposing that the time of leaving his family had not arrived, and that he was reproved for his haste and rashness in rushing to the conclusion that his own prophecy would be immediately fulfilled.

Again reassured, he continued to prophesy. Amongst other things, he declared that Irving was rejected from the apostolic office, but "should be a mighty prophet, and be endowed with all power, and go to Scotland, through the length and breadth of it; and the enlargement which the Lord would give him would be so great that that land could not contain it; that, as Elijah had under him the sons of the prophets, so should he have prophets under him; that the pestilence had reached its capital, and he must speedily go forth, ere the pestilence spread, to bear the Lord's warning to his native land." He was also "made in power to speak to Mr. Armstrong, declaring that the Lord had called him to the office of Apostle." About this time Miss Cardale affirmed "in the power"

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, p. 49.

² *Ibid.* p. 50.

that Mr. Baxter "was a prophet, and more than a prophet," for he "should speak with authority ; that he was a chosen stone in the temple of the Lord ; but warning the people not to rest in the vessel, for though he was a chief stone, yet he was not *the* Chief Corner-stone."

After many more prophecies, too long to detail here, especially as they constitute only a small portion of the almost daily prophesying at this time, and after more declarations in the power about the truth of his prophetic office, and his future continuance in it, Mr. Baxter returned home, and, amongst other things, predicted that he and his wife should, the day after the morrow of the delivery of the prediction, be baptized with the baptism of fire.

The non-fulfilment of the latter prophecy first definitively opened Mr. Baxter's eyes. And after a long period of struggle, meditating upon the various utterances which he had been led to make, how so many were not fulfilled,¹ or were explained away, and passing other

¹ The writers in the *Church's Broken Unity*, p. 259, reckon up forty-three prophecies of Mr. Baxter which were signally unfulfilled, besides others. The letter in answer, after showing that Mr. Baxter made mistakes about several matters of smaller importance, states that "the *Narrative* is not properly as he entitles it, 'A Narrative of facts characterizing the supernatural manifestations in members of Mr. Irving's congregation, and other individuals,' but is a narrative of 'Mr. Baxter's thoughts and feelings, of revelations made to Mr. Baxter, of Mr. Baxter's words, of Mr. Baxter's actings, and of words and actings of others to and concerning Mr. Baxter ; and in a large proportion of words of Mr. Baxter to and concerning himself,'" p. 49. Complaint is also made that Mr. Baxter interpreted his own prophecies, whereas interpretation ought to be left to those in authority. It is clear, after reading and weighing this clever *nisi prius* answer to the *Old Church Porch* articles, and making a liberal deduction from the original charges, that a large amount remains unaccounted for, which are plainly destructive of Irvingite claims to real prophesying.

circumstances and considerations under review, he came to the conclusion that he had been utterly mistaken, and, after first expostulating with his late friends, published to the world his reasons for receding from their company.

Not only now at the morning meetings on week-days, where the large congregations continued to assemble at the early hour of half-past six, but also at the regular services in the Scottish Church on Sundays, the prophets and prophetesses, or as they were termed, the "gifted persons," uttered their startling speeches. Whether Irving was reading or praying, or was in the midst of the most impassioned periods of his orations, he stopped, and meekly listened to what he conceived to be the Voice of God. But it was evident that he stood now upon a footing very different from his position in former years. He had helped in evoking a new power. To that power he was forced to bow, and bow he did heartily and unreservedly according to his nature, whatever the sacrifice or the effort.

It is also evident that the movement had now assumed larger proportions. Notwithstanding that it was still identified in the popular mind with Irving, it is nevertheless clear that the roots penetrated much deeper and wider. There were others who saw further than he did, and were really guiding the nascent fortunes of the little craft.

CHAPTER VI.

TRIALS AND DIFFICULTIES.



THE storm which had been gathering in the heavens soon burst with all its force over Irving. *from the first time 23*

His teaching upon the Human Nature of our Lord had for long drawn upon him a great amount of adverse criticism. A large part of this opposition arose from the neglect which this part of the Creed of Christendom had inherited in the current theology of the day. The enthusiastic efforts of Wesley and the Evangelical school had not only concentrated the devotional gaze of that time, as it should be ever fixed, upon the wondrous scene enacted upon Mount Calvary, but it had, upon the principles of showing religion to be such that "whoso runneth may read," and of evoking pure, ardent, self-effacing faith, excluded in effect other articles of belief. The Incarnation was held with a dead and unvivifying orthodoxy. In saying this, and in painting in general terms the tone and colour of the religious life at any period, we should never forget the seven thousand, and of the many more than seven thousand, "who have never bowed the knee" to any popular idol. But making all

just allowance for these, and such as these, the amazing truths of the Incarnation of the Son of God, and the inexpressible mercy which that great Doctrine comprises, and the varied comfort which it brings in the struggling life of Christians, found but little comparative recognition in the religious teaching or observances of the beginning of the present century.

The grand secret of Irving's influence lay in the life-like, natural, vigorous power with which he set forth the vast truths of Salvation, including especially the application of them to the needs of individuals. Pursuing this line of treatment, he was led on, as might have been anticipated, to unfold the sympathy which the Lord feels in all the sorrows and trials of His people, in consequence of His having taken man's nature, and having experienced its weakness, and drained in it the cup of suffering. It is impossible to find a finer field for a preacher who is anxious to kindle in the hearts of his people an ardent attachment to their Lord and Saviour. And we can easily imagine the grand style in which Irving expatiated upon it; for Irving was emphatically the orator, as distinguished from the rhetorician. Whatever was heavenly, or pregnant with noble ideas, or conducive to noble action, was treated by him with a grandeur which, perhaps, makes him in this respect no unworthy competitor even of Demosthenes.

But his temptation to push things to extremes in his overwhelming treatment of any subject often carried him too far. He used upon this topic several expressions which led to the inference that he meant to attribute

sinfulness to our Lord's Human Nature. It is true that he denied not only that there never was any sin in His spotless life,¹ but that he himself ever intended to say that the Lord was a partaker in² original sin. About the question whether the latter statement was involved in his words, controversy raged for a long time in the *Morning Watch*, and in a pamphlet war between Mr. J. Haldane and Mr. Drummond. There was a violence in the mode of attack which is hard to account for, except upon the supposition that prejudice or jealousy were added to desire for truth and zeal in vindicating our Lord's Character. Still, allowing for prepossessions and acrimony, Irving undoubtedly did go much too far in his rhetorical expressions.³ [He asserted that our Lord took, not the pure human nature of the original creation, but the fallen nature which Adam transmitted to his descendants.] This was a grievous error, arising from a misconception of the Incarnation, and especially an inadequate understanding of the article in the Creed, *conceived by the Holy Ghost*, by which the doctrine of the Incarnation is protected.

¹ "If indeed we made Christ a sinner, then all creeds were at an end, and all Churches, and we were worthy to die the death of blasphemers—to be stoned by the multitude in the open face of day. But that is out of the question: only railers can utter it, only fools can take it in."—Letter by Rev. Edward Irving to *Morning Watch*, i. 421.

² "The miraculous conception depriveth Him of human personality, and it also depriveth Him of original sin and guilt needing to be atoned for by another; but it doth not deprive Him of the substance of sinful flesh and blood—that is, flesh and blood the same with the flesh and blood of the brethren."—*Morning Watch*, i. 431.

³ *A brief statement of the proceedings of the London Presbytery . . . in the case of the Rev. Edward Irving.* London: Basil Stewart, &c., 1831, p. 22.

Irving really drifted into the error, which in his case had more of intellectual inadvertence than of positive heresy, thinking that he was teaching orthodox Doctrine, and imagining that his strong assertions of the actual Sinlessness of our Lord formed a sufficient safeguard. Nothing was really further from his mind than to do any dishonour at all to the Lord, whose love, and mercy, and influence, and sway on the hearts and lives of His people Irving was striving to exalt. Had he been met in a spirit of large-minded love, and found his error pointed out by men who joined heartily in the positive and valuable truth which he was inculcating, he might have withdrawn his perilous and unsound statements. More consideration might have been extended to a man who denied strongly the result of the error involved in part of his tenet. But, instead of any allowance being made, his words were pressed in controversy to their extreme acceptation, and whilst Irving repudiated the conclusions which were fathered on him, he was too haughty to retract anything that he had said. ✓

The first assault was made upon him on account of his teaching in the year 1828. Mr. Cole, a clergyman with no cure, hearing that Irving was preaching a new doctrine, went to the Caledonian Chapel to judge for himself. After service he proceeded into the vestry, and interrogated Irving upon the subject. In consequence of the results of this double investigation, the impertinence of which cannot be excused, he published a pamphlet with the accusation that Irving termed the Human Body of Christ "a sinful substance." As an answer to this, Irving inserted some additional sermons in a volume he

was publishing on the Incarnation. The attack attracted a great deal of attention, and Irving continued to defend himself, and to give explanations in the *Morning Watch*. He was charged by others with asserting the sinfulness of our Lord's Nature. It must ever be remembered, in connection with this controversy, that he himself explained the question at stake in a very different sense, viz., given the Sinlessness of our Lord in His Human Nature, did it arise from the inherent sinlessness of the nature which He took, or from the prevailing influence of the Divine Nature, which overruled all human infirmities? In 1829 James Haldane's pamphlet appeared under the title of *A Refutation of the Heretical Doctrine promulgated by the Rev. Edward Irving, respecting the Person and Atonement of the Lord Jesus Christ*. This led on to the controversy with Drummond and others already noticed.

In 1830 Irving published a tract, entitled, *The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature*. This was brought in the autumn before the Presbytery of London, who decided, with only Irving's own dissentient vote, to take measures thereupon. Irving denied that he was amenable to that body, arguing that by the trust-deed of the National Scotch Church in Regent Square the minister thereof must be ordained by a Presbytery in Scotland, and not by the Presbytery of London. Accordingly, he entered his protest, and appealed to the Scottish Established Church, as being alone possessed of authority over him and his flock.¹ Notwithstanding this protest and

¹ Preface to *Christ's Holiness in the Flesh*, quoted by Mrs. Oliphant, *Life of Irving*, p. 305 (4th edition).

appeal, a committee was appointed to report upon the book, and their report was published by the Presbytery, including an account of the proceedings. They went on to "excommunicate him from their body," and to order this sentence to be read from the pulpits of the churches under the Presbytery. In reply to this a declaration was made by Irving and the elders and deacons of his Church, that "we utterly detest and abhor any doctrine that would charge with sin, original or actual, our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ," including other words to the same effect, and that the doctrine now expressed was constantly taught in the church in Regent Square.¹

At the meeting of the Assembly at Edinburgh, in May, 1831, Messrs. Campbell and Scott were condemned for maintaining the universality of our Lord's Redemption in contradistinction to the Calvinistic view confining it exclusively to the elect, the former being deposed from the ministry, the latter being deprived of his office of preacher. The anxiety which Irving felt about these proceedings was shown by the daily Service which he instituted in order to implore Divine Guidance for the Assembly, as narrated in the last chapter. He also retained Mr. T. Carlyle, his old school-fellow, as an advocate to defend him if formally attacked. But his case was decided upon the report of a committee. [His book on *The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Humanity* was condemned, and directions were given, if Irving preached the doctrine assailed anywhere in Scotland, that proceedings should be taken at the

¹ *A Brief Statement, &c.*

place where it was preached.] At the same Assembly, Mr. Maclean was condemned for teaching that "the Son of God took our nature in its fallen, not its unfallen, state."¹ Soon after this the ebullitions of the "unknown tongues" absorbed the attentions of Irving's enemies, and alienated many of those who had hitherto stood his staunch friends. The latter were unaffectedly grieved to move against their loved pastor; but they could not endure the interruption of their Services by the violent utterances of the prophets, and he was unalterably fixed in his regard of them as the Voice of God. A gulf, ever widening, opened between the two parties.

At length, in 1832, the trustees of the Church, with the opposition only of Mr. Hamilton, Irving's brother-in-law, applied for the opinion of Lord St. Leonards, then Sir Edward Sugden, who advised them to complain to the London Presbytery, with a request for the removal of their minister. Irving had before begged the elders not to take such a step. But now, when armed with the eminent lawyer's opinion they came to him with an appeal to give way by silencing the obnoxious prophets, he took a few days to consider his answer. On the next Sunday he pointed out to his followers that they must assemble elsewhere in private houses, and on the day after wrote to the elders, saying, "If it be so that you, the trustees, must act to prevent me and my flock from assembling to worship God according to the word of God in the house committed to your trust, we will look unto our God for preservation and safe-keeping."

¹ *Morning Watch*, v. 85.

The appeal to the Presbytery was now made, and the latter body met in April to hear the case. The moderator was a Mr. James Brown Reid. Mr. Mann, one of the trustees, appeared to support the complaint, and Mr. Cardale accompanied Irving to conduct the defence. The business of the day was opened by prayer. When the moderator, in the course of the prayer, asserted that the court was met together in the name of the Lord Jesus, Taplin, in a loud voice, after some sentences in an unknown tongue, declared, "Ye are not met in His name; ye are met in your own name; ye are met in your own name. Beware! beware! tremble ye, tremble ye before Him."¹ Mr. Mackenzie, an elder of the Church, who entirely sympathized with Irving, and who with two other elders² went with him when he was shut out from Regent Square,³ was the first witness examined. The proceedings were directed chiefly towards proving the question of fact respecting the utterances of the prophets. Taplin, who succeeded him, was strong in asserting that the prophets spoke by inspiration, and not from any movings of their own Spirits, so that "it was not they that spoke, but the spirit of God that spake in them." Irving made a copious and eloquent answer to the charges, which is satisfactory upon the question of his own thorough uprightness, guilelessness, and conscientiousness in the matter, and was marked by dignity and by strong religious feeling.

Towards the end of the proceedings a characteristic

¹ *Evidence*, p. 3, note.

² *Narrative of Apostles' Work*, &c., p. 20.

³ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, ii. 264, ed. 1.

scene occurred. Mr. Mann asked whether Irving considered "that he had acted fairly and honestly by the Presbytery in not acknowledging to them that Miss Hall had been acting under delusion." After a condemnation of this question by the moderator, Irving cried out, "She is one of the lambs of my flock! she is carried in my bosom. Oh! she is one of the lambs of my flock! and shall I bring one of the lambs of my flock, who may have been deluded and led astray, before a public court? Never, never while I have a pastor's heart!"

The decision of the Presbytery might have been anticipated from the first. Irving is said to have consulted Lord Melbourne as to whether he could set the Scotch authorities at defiance. The answer of the future prime-minister was characteristic of his shrewdness and penetration. Having heard what the great preacher had to advance in his own behalf, he replied, "Your arguments are admirable, but you must submit." Irving wished therefore now only to postpone the operation of the act of expulsion till after the ensuing Sunday, when he intended to administer the Holy Communion for the last time in the church in Regent Square. According to the Scottish custom the "tokens" were given to those who were going to communicate, and the usual fast before reception had been kept on the Thursday, when on the Friday¹ morning the gates were found closed, with the order of the Presbytery affixed to the doors. When the congregation assembled in the early dawn, they found Irving, who had been served with the notice only the evening

¹ *Morning Watch*, v. 444.

before, and did not believe that the exclusion would be so promptly put in force, standing bareheaded in silent prayer in front of the church. A large room was soon found in Gray's Inn Road, where Robert Owen, the Socialist, used to deliver his addresses. Here on the 6th of May about eight hundred communicants met together, and here, small though it was for their wants, and accompanied by unpalatable associations, Irving and his congregation continued to worship for several months. During this time Irving used to preach in the open air in many parts of London, so that his influence extended far beyond the limits of the room used by him. But his troubles, added to the incessant labours of the last ten years—for his holidays with many sermons in the week would have been overwhelming work to most men—had a serious effect upon his health, and he showed the first symptoms of his approaching decline.

Before long he moved into a house in Newman Street, attached to which was a large picture-gallery, formerly occupied by West, the celebrated painter, which was prepared for his new Church. "The room adopted for their meetings was fitted up in the usual style of pews and galleries, as in a church; instead of a pulpit, however, there was constructed at the upper end of the church a raised platform, capable of containing perhaps fifty persons. The platform was ascended by steps, and on the front of it were seven seats; the middle seat is that of the angel, the three on each side of the angel are elders. Below them, on the steps and in a parallel line, are seven other seats belonging to the prophets, the middle seat

being allotted to Mr. Taplin as the chief of the prophets. Still lower, in a parallel line, are seven other seats appropriated to the deacons, the middle seat being occupied by the chief deacon. This three-fold cord of a seven-fold ministry was adopted under direction of the utterance. The angel ordered the service, and the preaching and expounding was generally by the elders in order, the prophets speaking as utterance came upon them."¹

It will be observed what an advance had been made in these arrangements from the order of Scottish Presbyterianism, but it is noticeable that the opening service, which took place on a Wednesday evening, October the 24th, was conducted exclusively by Irving, except as far as regards utterances by the prophets, who appear to have been in great activity. During an exposition of the first chapter of the First Book of Samuel, a voice was heard: "Oh, but she shall be fruitful! Oh! oh! oh! she shall replenish the earth! Oh! oh! she shall replenish the earth and subdue it—and subdue it." Soon after: "Oh! you do grieve the Spirit! you do grieve the Spirit! Oh! the body of Jesus is to be sorrowful in spirit! You are to cry to your Father—to cry, to cry in the bitterness of your souls! Oh, it is a mourning, a mourning before the Lord; a sighing and crying unto the Lord because of the desolations of Zion—because of the desolations of Zion—because of the desolations of Zion!" Irving preached upon reconciliation to God, and in the midst of an exhortation

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 11.

to his hearers to believe that "there is a salvation in Christ for every one of you," the voice of Mr. Drummond is heard: "Ah! shut Him not out—shut not out your Saviour! Ah! you are proud of your dignity! Ah! truly your power is fearful! Ah! you have a power of resisting your God—you have a power of resisting your salvation! Ah! you are not straightened in your Father; you are straightened in yourselves! Oh! receive Him now! The day is almost closed. Ah! enter now! Delay not—delay not—delay not. Ah! wherefore stand you back?" Upon Irving's resumption of his discourse, taking up the strain of the prophet, and saying, "Shut not the Lord out, the Spirit of the Lord speaking in His servants," the voice again breaks forth: "Oh! I have set before thee—Oh! I have set before thee an open door; oh! let no man shut it; oh! let no man shut it." Afterwards a lady speaks: "Ah! will ye despise—ah! will ye despise the blood of Jesus? Will ye pass by the Cross, the Cross of Jesus? Oh! oh! oh! will ye crucify the Lord of Glory? Will ye put Him to an open shame? He died—He died—He died for you—He died for you! Believe ye—believe ye the Lamb of God! Oh! He was slain—He was slain, and He hath redeemed you—He hath redeemed you—He hath redeemed you—He hath redeemed you with His blood! Oh! the blood—the blood—the blood that speaketh better things than the blood of Abel, which crieth mercy to you now—mercy to you now! Despise not His love—despise not His love—despise not His love!" Another utterance, not this time by a lady, was: "Oh! grieve

Him not! Oh! grieve not your Father! Rest in His love! Oh! rejoice in your Father's love! Oh! rejoice in the love of Jesus—in the love of Jesus—oh! for it passeth knowledge! Oh! the length! oh! the breadth! oh! the height! oh! the depth of the love of Jesus! Oh! it passeth knowledge! Oh! rejoice in the love of Jesus! oh, sinner! for what, for what, for what, what, oh, sinner, what can separate, separate, separate from the love of Jesus? Oh! nothing, nothing! Oh! none can pluck you out of His hands! Oh! none shall be able to pluck you out of your Father's hands!"

When the sermon was ended, Irving announced that the church would be free throughout, with no letting of pews; that it was to be open fourteen times a week, ten to the public and four only to the members of the Church, with a few other "devout persons," admitted by ticket, the porch only being open to others. He had hardly concluded when Mr. Drummond called out: "Ah! be ye warned! be ye warned! Ye have been warned. The Lord hath prepared for you a table, but it is a table in the presence of your enemies. Ah! look you well to it! The city shall be builded, ah! every jot, every piece of the edifice. Be faithful each under his load—each under his load; but see that ye build with one hand and with a weapon in the other. Look to it—look to it. Ye have been warned. Ah! Sanballat, Sanballat, Sanballat, the Horonite, the Moabite, the Ammonite! Ah! confederate, confederate with the Horonite! Ah! look ye to it, look ye to it!"¹

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 381, 384, ed. 4.

Such was the service with which the new church in Newman Street was inaugurated. Irving appears to have been hardly comfortable in various relations of his new quarters. He was the Angel of the Church—so he regarded himself—and had the Apostle under him, and yet the Apostle was over him.¹ The system was not yet developed, but he who had reigned supreme for many years with only a distant authority over him, which, if it interfered arbitrarily, seldom interfered, now found a frequent intrusion of a superior power raised by his own principles, and set up by his assistance. But he was a man to carry through what he had undertaken unflinchingly to the end. He bowed to the prophets and apostles conscientiously and unhesitatingly.

Another, and perhaps a severer, trial was impending, which may best be related now. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland gave orders in the session in 1832, by means of a commission then sitting, to the Presbytery of Annan, which had originally ordained Irving, to take proceedings against him. In consequence of this, the latter body wrote to him asking if he was the author of *The Orthodox and Catholic Doctrine of our Lord's Human Nature*, *The Day of Pentecost*, and a certain article in the *Morning Watch*. Irving, with the candour and chivalry that ever characterized him, immediately acknowledged the authorship. In consequence of this he was summoned to reply upon a charge of heretical teaching on the subject of our Lord's Human Nature.

¹ This is of course contrary to Irvingite arrangements, but see Irving's own letter to Mr. Alan Ker, *Oliphaunt*, ii. 383.

With one exception, the Board before whom he was to appear consisted of unknown men.

On March 13th, 1833, accompanied by Mr. David Ker, a Mr. Smith, and the Rev. David Dow, a minister of the Church of Scotland, formerly of Irongray, "who had some time before received the gift of tongues and prophecy," Irving appeared in the parish church of Annan. It was filled with a dense crowd of some 2000 persons. A long indictment was read, and, after some preliminary discussion, Irving spoke in his own defence, denying that his real opinions were truthfully represented, and demurring to the competency of the tribunal. "I stand not here," he concluded his address, "by constraint, but willingly. Do what you like. I ask not judgment of you; my judgment is with my God."¹ He was condemned by the clerical members of the Presbytery, who delivered their opinions one by one with unbroken unanimity. At the end, when the moderator, before pronouncing sentence of deposition from the ministry, had asked the senior member of the Presbytery to offer up prayer to Almighty God, in the twilight of the evening, the voice of Mr. Dow was heard:—"Arise, depart! arise, depart! Flee ye out, flee ye out of her! Ye cannot pray! How can ye pray? How can ye pray to Christ whom ye deny? Ye cannot pray! Depart, depart! Flee, flee!" There was only one candle in the church, and it was long before it was discovered where the voice proceeded from. Confusion ensued upon the discovery, and Mr. Dow rose to leave the church. Irving followed his example,

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 394, ed. 4.

saying with great vehemence, when the crowd did not give way as he desired, "Stand forth! stand forth! What! will ye not obey the voice of the Holy Ghost? As many as will obey the voice of the Holy Ghost let them depart."

So Irving left the church of Annan, where he had been ordained, and was thereupon expelled by the Presbytery from the ministry and membership of the Established Church of Scotland. After preaching out of doors in various places, he returned to London to the little community in Newman Street.

But these were not the only trials and difficulties which, during the period to which this chapter relates, beset Irving and his co-religionists. It has been said that Mr. Baxter, after having been received as a prophet, and declared by prophecy to be a prophet, and having delivered prophecies which were received both at the time of their delivery and afterwards as true and important prophecies, had recanted, and declared himself to have been deluded. He came with this announcement to Irving on the morning of his trial before the Presbytery of London, and must thereby have seriously added to the poor man's trouble and embarrassment. And, in the unsettled state of men's minds, the publication of his "narrative" of the events connected with him was a great discouragement. Besides this, Miss Hall, a governess in the family of Mr. Perceval, who was afterwards one of the apostles, declared that she too had been deluded, and left the Body, and adopted a different course of life.

Doubts also had repeatedly arisen respecting Mr.

Taplin himself, "the chief of the prophets." "Mr. Taplin has been again and again convicted of false prophecy, and again and again received as a true prophet. 1. When the congregation was in the Scotch Church, Regent Square, Mr. Taplin, in the voice of prophecy, rebuked Mr. Irving. Mr. Taplin was rebuked by the utterance from Miss E. Cardale, and after some days confessed that he had harboured unjust thoughts against Mr. Irving, and had spoken this rebuke by the power of an evil spirit. 2. When the congregation was in the bazaar and Gray's Inn Road, Miss E. Cardale called in utterance for some individual in the congregation to come forward and confess his sin; that a gross sin had been committed against the Lord. After some time Mr. Taplin came forward and confessed that he had been guilty of speaking his own mind, and mingling his own thoughts with the utterances. This was recognized as the sin rebuked. 3. The Sunday after Mr. Irving's burial, Mr. Ryerson was preaching in Newman Street, and showing how a man may have the gift of the Spirit without the grace of God in his heart, alluding, as was generally understood, to Mr. Taplin, when Miss E. Cardale broke out in a most appalling utterance, and took up Mr. Ryerson's words, and said, 'He never had it; he never knew it;' and went on to describe Mr. Taplin's case, as it was fully understood to intend, as most perilous in his own personal circumstances, and in the manner he had misled the Church."¹ Indeed Taplin's anomalous conduct must have been a

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*, pp. 41, 42, 44; *Church's Broken Unity, Irvingism*, pp. 232, 233.

constant source of embarrassment. Dr. McNeile reports thus of a meeting which he was induced to attend at Albury: "'In reading in the Spirit,' *i.e.* the Holy Spirit reading in him, his (Taplin's) deviations were palpably incorrect. One of them was the omission of an important word, to the utter marring of the sentence. That Mr. Taplin should make a mistake in his reading might be very natural; but that the Holy Spirit, speaking by the physical organ of Mr. Taplin, should misrepresent the Holy Scriptures was more than I could receive. Before I left the house I plainly declared my judgment in the matter to Mr. Irving. His reply was strange, and highly characteristic of the system: but it was private, and I do not feel at liberty to quote it."¹ These troubles added to the trials and difficulties which now beset the little ship before it was yet fairly launched upon the ocean.

Indeed the extreme difficulty of managing the prophets soon showed itself. A power had been brought out which claimed to be a direct emanation from Heaven, indeed from the Holy Ghost Himself. Yet it was a power which was in its nature eminently free from the control of the persons who were supposed to be the means of its exercise. Such a power, if let loose, was sure to wreck the vessel.

Palpable cases of its abuse soon came to light, and were referred to Satanic agency. A very painful instance was the following:—A country clergyman had two twin children, who, whilst their father and mother were away

¹ McNeile's *Letters to a Friend*, p. 113.

from home, from some unexplained cause began to speak, as was supposed, in prophecy, though they were only seven years old. The parents, upon the receipt of the intelligence, immediately returned, and after observation became fully convinced that the Holy Spirit of God was speaking through their children. What they said at first "was of a very heavenly character." But by degrees this wore off, and they gave utterance to many strange and extravagant orders, and at last forbade a marriage which was going to take place. This brought matters to a crisis, and the passage in the Bible occurred to the parents: "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits whether they are of God." The father and his curate happened to discuss the mode of doing this in the presence of the children, when the boy cried out, "Ye may try the spirits in men, but ye may not try them in babes and sucklings." This speech had the effect of postponing the trial till the next morning, when the father determined to pursue it. The boy again cried out in a loud voice, "Ye shall not try the spirit." The father said, "I will try the spirit by the Word of the living God." The boy answered, "If ye try the spirit, ye shall be chastised." The father then read the third verse of the fourth chapter of the first Epistle of St. John, adding that it was God's Word, and that he would not be prevented, and then broke down under stress of feeling. On this the curate, after reading the same verse, put his hand on the boy's head, and said, "Thou spirit which possesseth this child, wilt thou not confess that Jesus Christ is come in the Flesh?" The boy answered loudly, "I will not." When

his sister was questioned she said nothing. The evil spirit was then commanded to depart. The boy looked pale, and was quite cold, and said he felt something like a cold fluttering, and then it left him. After a short time he cried out that it was coming again. He was told, "Resist the devil, and he will flee from you." They all prayed together, and the spirit never more returned.¹ •

This was the first noticeable instance, and set Irving at once upon an examination of every spirit, and only those were allowed to prophesy who had been before approved. The following question was put to the prophet who claimed possession of the "gift:" "O thou spirit, dost thou believe that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh?" Other cases occurred, where the arrogated gift of prophecy was so evidently inconsistent with what is right and good, that the conclusion was come to that Satan and his angels were engaged in marring the good work of God. This conclusion, and the care exercised in examining and controlling the "spirits" according to scriptural directions, only confirmed in their belief the believers in the supposed spiritual manifestations. Still these cases produced much general perplexity, and decided in an adverse direction many waverers.

Other discouragement came from the refusal of many other men, who had agreed with the earlier part of the movement, to cast in their lot with the new religionists. To Irving's great disappointment, Mr. Story of Rosneath, Mr. Campbell of Row, and his own recent assist-

¹ Norton's *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, pp. 74, 75.

ant, Mr. Alexander Scott, all stood aloof. The former had attended one of the prophetic meetings at Albury, as has been related, and witnessed the earliest outpouring in his own parish. For a long time hopes were entertained that he would be induced to join, and prayers were largely offered up for his conversion, and he was looked upon as a future Apostle. His accession, both from his great reputation and from his high personal character, would have been of much importance. But, however highly he valued his friends amongst the Irvingites, however much he approved of the earnest self-sacrifice and devotion which marked their life, yet "the Divine origin, and inspiration, and special guidance," which they claimed for their body, "he, having known its beginning and heedfully scanned its progress, never could admit."¹ Nor did Mr. Campbell, whatever were Irving's earnest solicitations, draw even as near as that.

Besides these, the Macdonalds, who shared with Mrs. Caird the "outpouring" in Scotland, never could be prevailed upon to acknowledge the claims and doings of their brethren in the south. They could not but "mourn for their very great blindness."² As the apostles appealed "almost solely to an assumed prophetic voice calling them to such an office," they "dared not receive them as apostles."³ They solemnly warned them of the danger they were in "from erroneous views of the work of the spirit," "giving the lordship to the Spirit and not to Christ."⁴ So that in the quarter whence above all the

¹ *Life of Robert Story*, p. 236.

² *Lives of the Macdonalds*, p. 212.

³ *Lives of the Macdonalds*, p. 215.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 220.

new Community expected to receive support, their claims were rejected.

Added to these defections in Scotland, we must reckon, as probably of even greater importance, the cold attitude of numerous Evangelicals in England, who had either joined or sympathized in the earlier prophetic investigations. Two representative men, Daniel Wilson, who became Bishop of Calcutta in 1832, and Hugh McNeile, late Dean of Ripon, were found, as will be remembered, amongst the attendants of the Albury councils; and both of these, as was notably the case with the latter of the two, held strong opinions about the millennium and our Lord's Reign upon earth. But neither of them—and they were followed by the large body of Evangelical Churchmen—received the so-called prophetic manifestations. Dr. McNeile's case is a very strong one, because, being Rector of Albury for a long time during the development of the Irvingite system, *i. e.* till A. D. 1836, he had ample opportunity of judging about the merits of the new religion. Great anxiety was shown to gain him over. "On one occasion," he writes, "a prophecy to this effect," *i. e.* that God Himself declared I would join this affair, "was addressed to me personally, with all pomp and power of manner and voice, by Mr. Baxter, when in the plenitude of his own assurance, and of their confidence in him as peculiarly and highly gifted."¹ Any one who would read Dr. McNeile's *Letters to a Friend who has felt it his duty to secede from the Church of England* would

¹ *Letters, &c.*, by the Rev. Hugh McNeile, M.A., Rector of Albury, Surrey, p. 109.

find what was the opinion which an observer so competent both by talents and opportunities, and so likely to be impartial and perhaps favourable, from his early participation in council, entertained respecting the new movement. The narrowing of it in England, as well as its narrowing in Scotland, must have been found to be greatly discouraging, especially when hopes were so lofty and views had been so enlarged.

Another incident occurred which added to their embarrassment. In the spring or summer of 1834 a man with his wife and family came from America, saying that he had been deputed by a congregation in that continent, where the gifts of the Holy Spirit had been shed, to ask that spiritual ministers should be sent over to teach them more perfectly the way of the Lord. He was received most favourably by the congregation, and Irving showed him his wonted and generous hospitality. Various utterances were given declaring the great work which the Lord would do in America, and Mr. Taplin "addressed the missionary in the power, and, calling him out from those around, gave him a prophecy, that he (the missionary) was chosen of God to be an angel and a mighty prophet to gather God's people and build up God's Church in America. Mr. Caird and Mr. Ryerson were by the prophets deputed to go over to America to instruct the people, and the messenger remained for a season in London." Irving went so far as to offer him "his place in the Newman Street church; and on several occasions he preached in Mr. Irving's stead." Mr. Caird and Mr. Ryerson, meanwhile, crossed

over to America, and after the greatest difficulty, for the man's information proved incorrect, discovered a congregation which pretended to spiritual gifts, but "was universally shunned, as neither moral nor correct." There was nothing in the congregation that Messrs. Caird and Ryerson could approve: they considered them to be under the influence of evil spirits, who prompted "the most extreme extravagancies." But the members of it knew the man. He had there passed himself off as Irving's nephew, and had been turned out by them for bad behaviour. He took himself off from London about the time that news arrived from the two emissaries.

The course of events has been, to some degree, anticipated in order that the ground may be cleared for a description of the construction of the new building. We have traced the lines which converged from various quarters, and met together at the end of Irving's ministry in Regent Square. We have seen block after block struck away, if a variety of metaphors may be admitted, and the ship sent fairly adrift. The hull is now upon the waters, and we have to narrate the appointment of officers of various grades, the entire re-arrangement of posts in the vessel, the construction of fresh machinery, and the erection of masts and rigging upon new principles.

CHAPTER VII.

ORGANIZATION.

WHEN Irving and those of his congregation who followed him were expelled from the Caledonian Church in Regent Square they owed, as they conceived, spiritual allegiance to no religious body, and they were, therefore, free to make for themselves whatever arrangements commended themselves to their judgment and conscience. This, therefore, may be regarded as the beginning of their independent life. Their corporate, official existence dates from this time. The Members of the Body at the present day refuse to be bound by anything anterior, and thenceforward only by what has been corporately transacted and is strictly official.

It may be well, perhaps, to take a short survey before we proceed further.

The movement had hitherto been conducted chiefly in connection with Irving's Congregation under the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. Many English churchmen had joined in it, besides several dissenters. In the later stages of the movement, the chief impulse had been given by these English churchmen and others. Irving's name, and the attraction of his preaching and presence,

had added reputation and lustre. But he was more a consenting party than a prime mover, except so far as the movement had resulted from principles of which he was the leading expounder. Indeed his congregation, though far the largest, for it included nearly a thousand members, was not the earliest. Before he left Newman Street, another assembled regularly under the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, M.A., an Irish clergyman of the Church of England. So that although the prophetic utterances were first publicly made in Irving's church, yet the first congregation of the new sect was not his, even in the Community to which an appellation derived from his name was popularly assigned.

But when the standard of a Body independent of all the religious associations in Christendom was first unfurled, the only tie which held the new associates together was the bond of a common belief. No signs existed of that highly-wrought organization which was afterwards constructed, and which made this Body, perhaps, the most elaborately systematic, and the most mechanical of all societies upon earth. Excepting so far as the ebullitions of the prophets turned or stopped the chariot-wheels, the order was that of Presbyterians or other dissenters, and the sole conduct was in the hands of one minister. Only two independent congregations now existed.

We must go back before some of the events recounted in the last chapter occurred, in order to trace clearly the several steps in the construction of the new building.

During the time when the young men were meeting together to seek for the gift of prophecy, many words of warning and encouragement were spoken to them, and promises were given, pointing to some future call and designation to office. Instigated partly by these addresses, and led too by the promptings of their own hearts, several of the young men were anxious to go out into London to proclaim the new Gospel. Irving gave his sanction, and they went forth into the public streets and squares, and preached the downfall of Babylon, the nearness of the Lord's Coming, and the free mercy and love of God to all who turn to Him in thorough repentance. The efforts of these new 'Evangelists' met with success. Many fresh adherents were collected, notwithstanding the strong opposition which was made on the part of people who had no belief in the special doctrines which were thus put forth, or did not approve of the way of practising or disseminating them. This was the first sprouting of the order of Evangelists, who afterwards played a prominent part in the operations of the Body.

The first rise of another, and that the chief, of the four orders of the ministry, according to Irvingite tenets, soon followed. Prayers to God that Apostles might be sent to conduct and perfect the work of salvation upon earth had been frequent from the time that the movement took a definite and practical turn. Such had been offered up at Port-Glasgow, and in that neighbourhood; and this had in course of time become, so to speak, a staple subject of supplication, especially during the summer and autumn of 1832; so that the idea of

the mission of new Apostles was now familiar to the minds of the devotees, and they were prepared for a declaration by the word of prophecy, at a private prayer-meeting, that one of the company should be an Apostle, coupled with an exhortation to "the exercise of his office in conveying the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands."¹

At the conclusion of the first service² in Newman Street, when Irving, as pastor, was on the point of pronouncing the usual blessing, Mr. Drummond "rose in the power of the Holy Ghost, and blessed the people. The next evening what was our joy on hearing Mr. Cardale speaking in the power of the Spirit. Many utterances followed in much connection of subject with reference to Zech. x., Joel ii., Psalm xxix., on the planting of the cedars of Lebanon in the house of the Lord. At the conclusion of the service, on the Monday following, Mr. Cardale blessed the people in the power of the Spirit as Mr. Drummond had done two days before: the first bud-dings, although we knew it not, of the coming apostle-ship; and a few days after, while Mr. Cardale was in prayer, asking God for the outpouring of His spirit upon the Church, there came a word of prophecy, declaring that the Lord had called him to be an apostle, and to convey His holy unction. The next morning Mr. Irving, narrating the dealings of the Lord in the designation of Mr. Cardale, solemnly addressed him

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 9.

² The date of this in the *Narrative* is given as Oct. 19.—*Norton*, p. 64
Mrs. Oliphant speaks of it as Wednesday, Oct. 24.—*Oliphant*, p. 382,
ed. 4.

accordingly, adjuring him to be faithful, and warning him of the exceeding great responsibility and awfulness of his office. Also warning us against any idolatry or undue exaltation of a man, inasmuch as the whole Church was apostolic, and, instead of needing to lean on any man, was itself 'the pillar and ground of the truth.'"¹

Such was the call and appointment of Mr. Cardale to the office of Apostle. He did not enter upon the active duties of that post till the ensuing Christmas. Mr. Cardale was by profession a solicitor, and, as will be remembered, had assisted Mr. Irving in that capacity when the latter was on his trial before the London Presbytery. He had also gone with Dr. Thompson and Mr. Henderson to examine into the alleged manifestations of the Holy Spirit in the west of Scotland. Having formed a favourable estimate of them, he returned to London, and at once came to the fore-front of the movement. Prayer-meetings were held regularly in his house, and the first utterance in England occurred there. Mrs. Cardale, Mr. Cardale himself, and his sister, Miss Emily Cardale, were amongst the earliest prophets. And in several respects Mr. Cardale, though not specially fitted for evangelizing, nor likely to attract or influence to any appreciable extent the outside world, was adapted to be the real guide in the main of the Community. He was possessed of an iron will, for on one occasion he is said, when his brethren refused to adopt his opinion, to have taken up his hat, saying that he could not return till

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 65, quoting from the *Narrative*.

they agreed to follow his recommendations. At the critical period of the history of Irvingism, when frustrated hopes and falsified prophecies, and the wrench caused by the introduction of Catholic rites and customs nearly proved the ruin of the sect, its survival was mainly due to Mr. Cardale's firmness and tact, which proved him to be a pillar of strength. But, as in the case of many strong-willed men who are placed in positions of rule, the tendency in him to an imperious exercise of authority has often formed a ground of complaint. His controversial writings show him to have been, except in theorizing, a man of remarkable caution—a habit which was doubtless fostered in his professional life. He has displayed also a calm judgment and great powers of organization and administration, often with skill reconciling claims appearing to be antagonistic, and marking out distinct provinces for subordinates. And he must have been a man of considerable ecclesiastical learning as well as ingenuity.

The Liturgy or Prayer-book of these people, which is unquestionably a remarkable production, is chiefly due to him, and if it evinces the errors of amateurs, nevertheless it shows a fair acquaintance with the liturgical lore of the Catholic Church. So do the *Readings on the Liturgy*, which have issued from the same hand. He seems to have impressed his caution and astuteness, derived perhaps originally from his legal habits of dealing with opponents generally, upon this elaborately organized sect.

At the time that these events were occurring in New-

man Street, the church at Albury was also in process of construction. Through the refusal of Dr., then Mr. McNeile to take part with them, Mr. Drummond and his friends found themselves assembling together without any definite mission or authority. This state appears to have caused them great anxiety. For amongst the other points of doctrine or discipline which had previously met with unmerited neglect, and were now treated in the Church generally with all the eagerness of fresh discovery, was the idea of order, government, and mission for the Church of Christ, descending first from Above, and afterwards transmitted by unbroken and authorized succession within the Church itself after the earliest precedents. In all their meetings therefore at Albury Park, they first with confession of sin acknowledged their "defective and wrong condition in assembling apart from their ordained pastor, the clergyman of the parish."¹ And they prayed earnestly that Almighty God would vouchsafe to declare His will by raising up prophets to guide His people. This state of things continued for some months, when at last one amongst them began, as they thought, to "speak with tongues and prophesy." They now prayed that by the power thus manifested some one might be appointed pastor over them. In London, on the 20th of October, the day after the first meeting in Newman Street, one of the prophets, to the surprise and joy of the Albury converts, named Mr. Drummond pastor of Albury.

But, when they came to reflect upon this mode of

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 105.

appointment, doubts arose. Some urged that an outward ordination was necessary, instancing the appointments by imposition of hands recorded in the Bible. Others thought that a declaration of the Divine Will by the mouth of a prophet could not be gainsayed, and of itself conveyed the appointment without any further action. In the midst of this perplexity another prophet bid them wait, inasmuch as they knew not as yet the meaning of ordinances and their want of them: they should cry to the Lord, in the certainty that He would hear their prayers. So they continued in London and at Albury till Christmas in this rudimentary and undeveloped condition.

Mr. Cardale, who was now the only apostle, and Mr. Taplin as prophet, had gone down to Albury for Christmas, in accordance with a word of prophecy, and on the eve of that holy Festival, in the evening, joined the rest of the believers and others then present in their meeting for prayer. Immediately after prayers, "the Spirit came upon" Mr. Cardale, and he ordained Mr. Place, a young man present, who had been previously called by the word of prophecy, to the office and work of evangelist." On Christmas Day they all expected that at the morning service some word would be spoken by one of the prophets about ordination, as their minds were full of that subject. But nothing came to them. In the evening they were anxious about the mode of celebrating the Holy Sacrament, as they had been ordered to do. Mr. Drummond, as pastor, was in doubts, and was anxious to learn more before he ventured upon the

Celebration. It is clear that he felt doubtful about his own authority to act. The rest of the occurrences shall be narrated in the words of an eye-witness :—

“At the commencement of the usual meeting for prayer, on Wednesday evening last (26th current), the Lord spoke a searching word through Mr. Caird while Mr. Drummond was reading the thirty-third Psalm ; the substance of it was a warning against trifling with God and with sin. Before singing, Mr. Drummond warned the people against coming there without knowing why. He saw some who, he feared, were ignorant that the purpose of this meeting was to pray unto the Lord for the outpouring of the Holy Ghost, and the revival of all His gifts to the whole Church everywhere throughout the world ; and unless they could join sincerely in this, the prayer would be a wavering prayer, which the Lord would not hear. After the psalm, Mr. Drummond said there were some amongst them who he knew were very anxious concerning the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and he requested the brethren who might be led to pray to make this a subject of special prayer : he then called upon the elder, Mr. Bayford, to read and pray. Mr. Bayford read Luke iv. During the prayer, while beseeching the Lord to make known His mind regarding ordinances, the Spirit broke forth in Mr. Drummond, saying, ‘It is the Lord's will : it is His will that the ordinances of the Lord's Supper be observed in this church ; it is His will.’ Then the Spirit, through Mr. Caird, called on us to rejoice that the Lord had heard the prayer of the destitute, and said, ‘Be ye prepared to

keep the feast with desire; desire ye to do this in remembrance of Jesus; the Lord will feed the hungry, but the rich He shall send empty away.' Mr. Bayford concluded his prayer, and Mr. Drummond desired the Church to sing the thirty-sixth paraphrase, which contains the words last quoted by the Spirit. While preparing to sing it, the Lord spoke through Mr. Taplin a long time in a tongue, and then said, 'The Lord ordains by you, who have been called to be the angel of this Church, to feed this people with the Body and with the Blood of the Lord: the meek ones shall be fed, but the proud consumed.' Mr. Drummond then called on the Church for thanksgiving to the Lord for the mercy He had shown, but told them to remember we still required the counsel of the Lord in this matter, and added, 'I may give you the bread and the wine, and you may press the bread with carnal teeth and touch the wine with your lips, but this is not to have Communion with the Lord—it is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing;' and again he called to prayer. The Spirit immediately spoke through Mr. Caird, saying, 'Let the Lord do His work; let Him declare all His mind; let His working alone be seen in the midst of you.' The Spirit then through Mr. Cardale began to open up the mystery of the Body and Blood, and the proper condition of those who receive it, and with much expression of grief, saying, 'Mourn ye, because the cisterns are broken, and there is no water; the Lord's people are a grief to Him; they are a burden to Him; He is pressed, He is pressed under them; there are some among you who

believe not ; Jesus is angry, He is angry.' The Spirit then proceeded in prayer, crying unto the Lord, 'O come down unto Thy people ; O for a living way to ascend unto our God,' concluding with a comprehensive prayer for the whole Church, and for the officers of this Church in particular, specifying every one, pastor, evangelist, elder, and prophet. At the close of the prayer, Mr. Drummond again said, 'I wish some of the brethren would pray, for I do not clearly discern the mind of the Lord in this matter.' The Spirit in Mr. Cardale said, 'Ye do well,' and continued to plead and exhort ; it was a mingled utterance of both. Then the Spirit broke forth in Mr. Taplin with great power in a tongue, and thus said, 'The Lord commandeth you, you who have been called to be an apostle, to lay hands on the angel of this Church, and ordain him to rule and feed this people, to feed them with the body and blood of the Lord ; be faithful, be faithful, and Jesus will honour you.' After a short pause, Mr. Cardale advanced to Mr. Drummond, who was kneeling at the desk, and after a prayer, mighty in the Spirit, beginning at Creation and going through the manifestations of God unto the Person, sufferings, and glory of the Lord Jesus, with strong crying for faith, and that the hand of the Lord alone might be seen, put forth his hands on Mr. Drummond's head, the latter seeming deeply absorbed in communion with God ; the Spirit in Mr. Cardale saying, 'Be thou filled with the Holy Ghost, and with the Spirit of wisdom and knowledge, and of a sound mind ; be thou of a quick understanding in the fear of the Lord ; feed and rule His

people ; be thou faithful unto death and thou shalt receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath prepared for thee and for all who love the Lord Jesus.' Then turning to Mr. Bayford, he blessed him, and spake words of encouragement, exhorting him to feed this people, and in so doing he himself should be fed. Immediately after this the Spirit burst forth in Mr. Drummond in a song, 'Glory to God in the highest,' when the Spirit in Mr. Caird took up the same strain in the name of the Church, singing the 'Doxology,' in which the congregation joined. Then followed a remarkable prayer in the Spirit by Mr. Drummond, thanking and praising the Father for all His goodness and mercy ; for His gentle dealing with us, not remembering our unworthiness, but putting away our sins, beseeching the Lord with great urgency not to let the vessels be looked to or regarded in themselves, lest He should be provoked to dash them in pieces. He seemed to have great entrance into the Bosom of Jesus, enjoying apparently much light, shown in the rapidity of the utterance. Mr. Cardale then in a commanding manner spoke in the Spirit, saying, 'It is the Lord's Will that thou proceed to feed this people with the Body and Blood of the Lord. See thou to it ; live for them ; watch for them by night and by day, and see that thou give a good account of the souls committed to thy trust ; the Lord will bless thee in it. The Lord hath ordained thee the pastor of this people. He hath cast off the pastors who have forsaken and fouled the waters ; but now He hath appointed them one who will give them pure water.' Then a word to Mr. Bayford, charging him to be faithful

in teaching this people, and promising him ordination in the Lord's time. Mr. Drummond was then looking for a psalm to sing, when the Spirit, through Mr. Cardale, said, 'Sing twenty-fourth Psalm, and let all your hearts be lifted up to the Lord.' The Spirit in Mr. Taplin then, after singing for a while in a tongue, declared that Jesus had been in the midst of us, that His arms were open to receive us, that we should flee into them. Mr. Drummond then again in prayer blessed the Lord, praying for the souls of the pastors, although their offices were being laid aside; and after a few words of exhortation to his people, showing that the utterances of the Spirit were not decrees, but addressed unto faith, and that according to the faith would the blessing be imparted and received, concluded by giving his blessing to the congregation."¹

Such was the ordination of Mr. Drummond as Angel of the Church at Albury. He was the first angel appointed, as Mr. Cardale was the first apostle. But a Church in those days was not supposed to have so full a complement of ordained ministers as it afterwards reckoned.

About this time Mr. Cardale "was made to dictate a letter," declaring, from "the mystery of the candlestick," the order of the ministry in each congregation.² As the candlestick has seven lamps, one in the centre and three on each side, so there was to be one angel for every Church, and six elders or presbyters. The name of the

¹ *Life of Robert Story of Rosneath*, Appendix iv. The passage quoted is a letter of Story's written from Albury Park two days after Drummond's ordination. The names are here filled in.

² See Appendix I.

latter was evidently derived from the lay elders in the Scotch Presbyterian Church, who assist the ordained minister in some of his work. But elders afterwards received a much higher position, being ranked as the leading priests. Thirdly, there were to be deacons. This letter was one of the first instances, if not the very first, of the symbolism which was afterwards carried out with great ingenuity and into the smallest details.¹ The scope which such symbolism affords to the imagination, and the connection which it appeared to effect between long passages occurring throughout the Old Testament, including several which are often passed over, and in other parts of the Bible, have offered great charms to many minds inclined to poetry or mysticism, and have been the means of bringing into the Community numerous converts.

Mr. Irving was, as has been related, deprived of his office as an ordained minister of the Scottish Kirk by the Presbytery of Annan on the 13th of March, 1833. He was much cast down at this act of disavowal of his ministry by the authority which had given him ordination and mission; still he felt confident that he was indeed sent forth from God, and he entertained no qualms of doubt about his own views on the mysterious subject which had caused his condemnation. They formed part of a compacted whole which had made up the staple of his belief and of his preaching. He stayed in Scotland for several days, preaching "in various villages in Annandale

¹ The general arrangement, apart from the symbolism, had been foreshadowed by Irving, as early as 1828. Oliphant's *Life*, p. 248.

in the open air to thousands of excited and sympathetic listeners," and at Cummertrees, the sands of Dumfries, and "on a hill-side in Terregles." His sermons were characterized by the earnestness with which he set forth Christ's Coming in the flesh, His fellowship and love, and His near return and Glory. It was the last time that his eloquence was heard in the neighbourhood of his birth.¹

He then returned to London, and reached Newman Street before the end of the month. On Sunday, the 31st March, being Palm Sunday, as he was about to receive a child into the Church who had been privately baptized, he was stopped by Mr. Cardale, saying, "that we must tarry for a while."² Irving immediately stopped the service, and, taking off his gown, threw it behind him, exclaiming, "Thank God, I am free from the trammels of men."³ It had been "declared in the word of prophecy" during Irving's absence that the people in Scotland "had taken away what they had given, but the Lord would bestow His own ordination instead."⁴ At the moment Irving could not understand the prohibition, but when a declaration was made by one of the prophets in the power, that "it was His will we should know, and the whole Church feel, our destitute condition, and cry to Him for the ordinances from heaven," Irving "discerned that He had indeed acknowledged the act of the fleshly

¹ *Oliphant*, p. 396 (ed. 4).

² *Observations on Mrs. Oliphant's "Life of Edward Irving,"* &c., by David Ker, Esq. Edinburgh: Thomas Laurie, 1863, p. ix.

³ *Fraser's Magazine*, Jan., 1863, p. 71.

⁴ *Norton's Restoration*, p. 67.

Church in taking away the fleshly thing, and that He was minded of His grace to take us under His own heavenly care, and constitute us into a Church directly in the hands of the Great Shepherd and Bishop of our souls."¹ He was ordered till his ordination to confine himself to the office of preacher or deacon.²

On the previous night directions had been given that they should sanctify themselves and call a solemn assembly, and in consequence Irving instituted a daily meeting for a supplication for the restoration of God's ordinance. On the ensuing Wednesday, in Holy Week, Taplin returned from Albury, where he had been staying, and on the morning of Maundy Thursday Irving asked him, after his own work in the service was finished, to conduct the worship. "After singing, he read the first chapter of Jeremiah, and being come to these words, 'I see a rod of an almond tree,' he was made in the Spirit to speak much upon it, and to apply it to the spiritual ministry which even now was beginning to bud, and in the midst of it brought a message to the apostle to 'ordain me as angel of the Church' on the morrow evening, and to charge me and the flock with such words as the Lord would then give him. For this holy action," Irving adds, "I sought to prepare myself and my flock with all diligence."³

(Irving, therefore, who had been considered for the last few days only as a deacon, was now to be ordained,

¹ Letter by Irving to Mr. D. Dow. *Ker's Observations*, p. ix.

² *A Chronicle of Certain Events which have taken place in the Church of Christ*, &c. London: Charles Goodall and Son, 1852, p. 10.

³ Letter to Rev. D. Dow. *Ker*, x.

or rather, according to the more developed phraseology of the Body, "consecrated" as angel or bishop, *per saltum*. As in the previous case of Mr. Drummond, it was truly a leap, for the office of the priesthood, which, after the universal Catholic tradition, the members of the Body now consider necessary as a previous step for becoming an angel or bishop, was in this instance simply ignored both by prophet and apostle.

On the evening, then, of the 5th of April, when they were singing the first ten verses of the fortieth Psalm, "the prophet," *i. e.* Taplin, declared that the Lord "would now show forth the mystery of the candlestick in the holy place, with its shaft and branches, knops and flowers."¹ According to this, it will be remembered, that each Church shall have, as a *minimum*, an angel and six elders, besides seven deacons. He now named five elders, adding that the Lord would speedily call the sixth. The rest of this service had better be described in the words of one of themselves:—"Then, while speaking in a tongue, followed a declaration that the Lord would have His table spread with unleavened bread, in token that He would have His Church unleavened. All this while nothing had been said respecting the promised ordination of Mr. Irving; but afterwards, when reminding the Lord of His promise,² the Lord through His prophet protested His faithfulness, bade Mr. Irving

¹ *The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church*. London: Bosworth and Harrison, 1861. Advertised to be by the Rev. Dr. Norton.

² It does not seem quite clear who was the reminder, whether the prophet or the apostle, or some one else.

kneel, and called on the apostle to ordain him, doing and saying all that it should be given him to do and say. Mr. Irving prayed most fervently, and at the end continued on his knees, while the congregation resumed their seats in solemn silence, waiting for what the Lord would do. Then the apostle, who spake and acted throughout under spiritual impulse and power, directed that the second and third chapters of the first book of Samuel should be read ; and subsequently the interpretation in its typical and prophetic application to the Church in these days was declared to be as follows :—Eli, grown old and blind, sets forth the present condition of the priesthood throughout Christendom, its spiritual discernment and discipline almost gone ; the behaviour of the sons of Eli sets forth the abuses of priestly power and the consequent corruption of the Churches. The call of Samuel was prophetic of God's present call to the apostleship and other ministries ; their infancy, ignorance, and weakness ; but the ultimate establishment of their office, and the rejection of the old degenerate priesthood,¹ not immediately, but in the days of Solomon the king. These chapters having been read, and the above interpretation given, Mr. Irving knelt down, while the apostle knelt beside him, praying for him and for his flock ; then he arose, and laying both his

¹ " Other words were added as to the rejection of the present degenerate priesthood, and the bringing in of the true priesthood 'after the order of Melchisedec'—the priesthood in the power of an endless life." This was explained as referring to the " Restored Apostolate," through which a fresh growth of priests was to be raised.—*Narrative of Events affecting the Position and Prospects of the whole Christian Church*. Printed for Private Circulation, 1847, p. 25.

hands on Mr. Irving, ordained him angel of the Church. He then declared that the Lord would seal His covenant with His servant in the sacrament of His body and blood, and directed that the deacons should go forth and bring in bread and wine—‘unleavened bread, bread without any leaven.’ The deacons went out accordingly to procure unleavened bread, or rather with their own hands to prepare it. During their absence the apostle said that the Lord would have the epistles to the seven Churches of Asia read ; that they were written for these times, and were His covenant with us ; in the promises and threatenings of which angels and people were alike bound. He then read in spiritual power the second and third chapters of the Revelation, with marked emphasis on certain parts.

“By the time he had finished, the deacons had returned, bringing with them an unleavened cake and wine. The apostle then demanded of Mr. Irving whether he would engage to keep those charges of Christ to His Church ; and, on receiving the angel’s assent, he proceeded to consecrate the elements, presenting them before the Lord ; and, after administering them to Mr. Irving, who was required to kneel, contrary to the former Presbyterian practice, he bade him administer them to his elders and the congregation ; then followed a psalm, the doxology, and the benediction ; the whole service occupying between three and four hours.”¹

The character and conduct of this service shows a marked advance from the Presbyterian services which

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, pp. 108—110.

had formerly been the rule. "Mr. Irving's congregation, formed by himself, though based on an old foundation, was Presbyterian—in connection with the Established Church of Scotland. Such it was in outward form and mode of worship in Regent Square; such it remained without alteration until Mr. Irving received apostolical ordination."¹ But at this time also, and even for several years afterwards, all ministrations were performed in common dress, often without even the gown for preaching. And though the occasion of Irving's ordination saw the introduction of elements of a different character, yet the general tone of the service continued still to be Presbyterian.

Such was the ordination, or rather the consecration, of Edward Irving as angel in the new religious Body. It was an event which has been variously represented. Some of Irving's friends, who opposed his connection with the new Community, have regarded it, as is set forth in Mrs. Oliphant's life of him, under the light of a slur cast upon him at a very trying time. Doubtless, at first sight, the "interdict," as it has been termed, under which he was placed, appears to have been a severe curtailment of office in the case of one who had just been deposed virtually for casting in his lot with these new prophets and their apostle; and this view derived intensity from the idea that he continued under the "interdict" for some weeks. But he was really without office in Newman Street only for five days, and it is difficult to see

¹ Letter by Mr. Cardale, quoted in Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 396, note (ed. 4).

how, upon Irvingite principles, Irving could have ministered without being re-ordained. That he himself, upon reflection, entirely acquiesced in the measure appears certain. "I know it," says Mr. Paul, "to be utterly false that he was in any way slighted by those to whom he returned after his deposition at Annan." He "heartily acquiesced in all that was done in the organization of the Catholic Apostolic Church." "His trials were by no means from within the Church, but from officious friends without, who strove with him against convictions which were part of his very self."¹ Whether the Body generally treated him ungenerously in not advancing their greatest man to a higher dignity, and not allowing him more power and freedom of action, is another question. Those who think they see the Divine Hand in all these operations will assert that no other course was open but obedience to Heavenly Commands. Other people, who regard all these arrangements as prompted by the feelings of the chief leaders in the movement, will conclude that a more generous treatment of the man to whom the movement owed most of its principles and its motive force would have been much more to their credit.

On the next evening the sixth elder was called, making up the number, so as to set forth the three branches on each side of the central shaft and lamp of the golden candlestick; and a few days later two evangelists, who were to labour upon the conversion and ingathering of unbelievers, were first appointed by the voice of the "prophet," and were afterwards ordained by

¹ In *Theological Review*, p. 112, MS. letter, &c.

Mr. Cardale, with the assistance of Irving, as they were to serve under the latter as their angel or bishop.

On the next Sunday Irving, being now again head of the Church in Newman Street, reminded his flock of the Lord's promise to ordain elders on that day, and proposed, after singing the one hundred and twenty-seventh Psalm, to enquire of the Lord in prayer about the fulfilment of the promise. But Mr. Cardale showed him that he was still under authority, though the authority was not that of the General Assembly, for the moment that the psalm was ended the apostle spoke forth in the Spirit about the sins of the Church, and, proceeding to "a most soul-searching prayer, which dissolved the flock in tears of contrition, he confessed those sins to God, and in the end pronounced pardon and peace." After this he ordained the six Elders,—three of whom had followed Irving from Regent Square, the remaining three having been previously members of the Church of England,—Irving helping him, as in the case of the evangelists. This day, being the fourteenth day of the month, was ordered to be regarded and kept as an epoch, being supposed to be like a second Passover.

But the complement of Ministers for the Church was not yet complete. Five Assistant Elders were also immediately appointed by the word of prophecy, and were ordained by the Apostle, assisted by the Angel. They were called Helps,¹ and were intended to take part with the Elders in their duties. The sixth Help was ordained soon after. All these Elders—whether Elders proper or

¹ Ἀντιλήψεις, 1 Cor. xii. 28.

the Church, so to speak, or Elder-helps—were supposed to have the Priesthood, and to be on an equal footing with Priests. Each of those who were ordained, whether Elder or Help, was addressed by the Apostle in words personally appropriate, either of warning or encouragement. To some a special intimation was given of higher offices in store.

Seven Deacons were also added on the next Saturday to have the special charge of all the temporal affairs of the Church, to manage the finances, provide what is necessary for Divine Service, take care of the poor, and be a connecting link between the Elders and the people. They were also to be under the Elders, and were appointed and ordained differently. The prophetic call was not deemed necessary, nor the imposition of Apostolic hands. They were chosen by the people, and Irvingites take to themselves credit for having to this extent, and to this extent only, acknowledged the claims of the people to representation ; or rather, they consider this a strong point in their system, as declared by the prophetic voice. These Deacons were ordered to be ordained by the imposition of the hands of Irving, as Angel, and of his six Elders. They were then to be brought to the Apostle for his blessing. One was appointed head Deacon, being the only Deacon who had left Regent Square with Irving.

About this time Taplin was ordained Prophet, being the first who was formally appointed to that office.

So Irving's Church was constituted, a pattern of a complete ministry for all future Churches, for amongst

these people every Church ought to have its angel or bishop. There are six elders, of different provinces or "borders," as will be explained afterwards. Then there are seven helps, and afterwards seven deacons. These numbers may be extended, so as to include more than sixty ministers, supposing a congregation to reach the ideal number of three thousand communicants.¹

It will be observed from this account what a different position Irving held from that which he had before. He was then the head, and was determined to be the head, of his own Church. He marched onwards with a strong step, and cast haughtily aside everything that interfered with his own ideas of right and wrong; but now, after being turned out of the Scotch Communion because he had thrown in his lot with the Body which drew its popular name from him, and having come back to his own people deprived of all external warranty of power, if they rejected, slighted, or spurned him, he had no other place of refuge. He must bow to the authorities which he had helped so powerfully to set up; and they were strong, despotic authorities, and he was their subordinate. The buoyancy of his early career seems to have left him—not that he evinced any dissatisfaction whatever with his new lot, which was the outcome of his own principles. He accepted every step made in advance with unfeigned thankfulness. Still if we would truly know Irving, we must seek his acquaintance before the year 1833.

These events in the Church in Newman Street are also noticeable for another result which issued from them.

¹ See below, vol. ii. chap. I.

Mr. Tudor, editor of the *Morning Watch*, was amongst the elders called. In the next number of that periodical, which came out in June, he announced that the *Morning Watch* was then concluded, saying, that "in the progress of this work of gathering and preparing His followers, Christ, for some months past, hath been calling for the personal services of nearly all the regular correspondents of this journal, one after another ; and he hath at length called the editor to take a place of an elder in His Church, and hath claimed all his time and services for the special duties of feeding and overseeing a sixth part of the flock of Christ in London. To this higher calling the editor now resolves to devote himself wholly, and at the same time brings the *Morning Watch* to an end, as he will not transfer to any other person such a solemn responsibility."

Such were the ostensible reasons given for the close of this quarterly periodical. As long as the movement could boast of and maintain a quarterly of such pretensions, and with such a circulation, it could not be called a hole-and-corner movement. At a time when quarterlies were scarce, a periodical of that sort, containing some two hundred pages, conducted and written with no inconsiderable ability, and printed in handsome type on excellent paper, brought no small credit to the party of which it was the recognized organ. It was devoted chiefly to the study of prophecy, but included general theological subjects, the latter however not of a wide range. Its conductors asserted that the chief circulation lay amongst members of the Church of England. As

the movement narrowed, and after public discussion of the supposed prophetic gifts settled down into a determined maintenance of practices which were generally regarded with the reverse of favour, the circulation of the *Morning Watch*, which had commenced in March, 1829, when these were open questions, must have greatly diminished. Another movement, too, was beginning to eclipse the one under notice in the estimation of the theological world. The *Tracts for the Times* began to be published about this time, and the *British Critic*, which was commenced in 1827, before the *Morning Watch*, must now in many libraries have taken the place of the latter. There seems little reason to doubt that this lessening of the spread and influence of the *Morning Watch*, added to the fresh calls upon Mr. Drummond's pecuniary resources, from which came the capital necessary for maintaining such a publication, materially co-operated with the religious appointments conferred upon Mr. Tudor and his staff in bringing this organ to a close, if they were not conjointly the cause of it altogether.

But the demise of the *Morning Watch* is also remarkable as marking, in conjunction with Irving's own gradual retirement in effect, an era in the history of these religionists. Their two great instruments, so to speak, in influencing the outer world, were their quarterly periodical and the great preacher. About this time all their energies seem to have been turned in upon themselves, and to have been occupied with their own organization. Spasmodic attempts have been made since, but none

have risen to any height at all adequate to the lofty pretensions of the Body. The name Irvingite, which came to them from events which occurred almost before they were a distinct body, would otherwise have been effaced by doings which should have put into the shade their early origin. But first they well-nigh cribbed, cabined, and confined their greatest man ; and next they closed their means of addressing thoughtful Christians, whose judgment would govern the action of the masses. So their high prospects faded away, and though with considerable ingenuity they developed their doctrine and matured their ritual, and though opposing forces within their society were reconciled, and government has been carried on, with remarkable skill, yet they have grown gradually less instead of expanding, and actual results have been in striking contrast to their high aspirations.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZATION (*continued*).

HITHERTO the records of the Irvingites have been almost exclusively confined to the doings of the congregation which had met in Regent Square, but having been driven forth from those "splendid towers,"¹ as they were termed by the *Morning Watch*, first took refuge in "the concert and ball-room of the infidel Owen," and afterward occupied "the house and premises of the late Mr. West, the celebrated historical painter, in Newman Street," where there were "sittings sufficient to contain more persons than could be seated in the former place of worship in Regent Square." Now we have to relate the increase of Churches, and the gradual growth of the Community in various places.

In an Independent congregation in the neighbourhood of Bishopsgate Street, Mr. Miller,² under whose pastoral charge it was, had been for some time preaching upon the chief points which had been brought out prominently by Irving and his party. He had taught that the Coming

¹ *Morning Watch*, vi. 224, 225.

² Perhaps it may be remarked, that this bearer of a not uncommon name was not a relative of the author of the present work.

of our Lord was drawing nigh for undertaking His Personal Reign on earth, and had urged the existing necessity for the bestowal of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, and the value of ordinances as a means of preparation for the Lord's Advent. By a course of events similar to the occurrences in Regent Square, on June 12th, 1832, the voice of prophecy was first heard in the congregation. From that time the utterances became frequent, and issued from numerous "members of the flock," embodying expressions of praise and warning, and promises of deliverance for the faithful, and of blessings in store. This continued till Sunday, May 12th, 1833, when as Mr. Miller was about to administer the Holy Communion, he was forbidden by a powerful utterance of a prophet. He was afterwards ordered to repair to the church in Newman Street for instructions. On his applying there, matters were promptly settled. On the very next evening, May 13th, Mr. Miller was ordained by Mr. Cardale angel of the church in Bishopsgate, and at the same time an elder was called and ordained. So the church of Bishopsgate, which was thus the second amongst the seven churches in London—for Mr. Armstrong's chapel was not permanent—began to be regularly constituted. In the same year a congregation assembled in Brighton, and an angel was ordained, on Dec. 19th, over them.

We have now to chronicle a development of the Apostolate.

On the 25th of September, 1833, eleven months after the appointment of Mr. Cardale to be an Apostle, and nine months after his entry upon the active duties of his

office, Mr. Drummond was called to the apostleship at Albury. There had been a service on the evening of the day before, during which one of the prophets called forth that the Lord's purpose had not been fully declared. These words became on the next morning the subject of solemn supplication, and pleadings were made that it would please Him to accomplish His purpose. "A word then came through another prophet, that the Lord would declare His mind if we would seek Him."¹ "Later in the day, all came together in order to offer up entreaties that He would not be 'hindered in the revelation of His Mind and Will by our unfitness and unworthiness, for His creatures were unworthy to be instruments in His Hands.' Then followed an utterance through another, that the Lord longed to speak His word to His children, that He alone could speak the word, the word of Jesus alone,—the only Head of the Church, who only could bless. After further prayer, confessing sin and pleading for pardon and blessing, the power of the Spirit coming on the prophet, he prayed for utterance, declaring that the Lord had a word to speak, and cried that it might come forth. Prayer was also made by the angel," *i. e.* Drummond, "that the hindrance to the coming forth of the word might be overcome and removed; after which the word of prophecy came forth, declaring that the Lord called the angel of the church in Albury to be an Apostle, and solemnly charging him to be faithful. One of the ministers then prayed, gave thanks, and blessed the Lord for this fresh proof of love to His Church, when

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 124.

there came an utterance through another, calling for the exaltation of Jesus, who had ascended up on high and received gifts for us, that He might dwell among the children of men ; Who gave some to be Apostles, and some Prophets ; Who had in Himself all the fulness of God, and out of Whose fulness all had received, ending with a call to exalt Jesus, to magnify Him ; which thing the Spirit of the Lord also did on the instant, opening " Mr. Bayford's "mouth, and filling it with a glorious song of praise, calling on those present to praise Him with harp and psaltery, with the cymbal and the trumpet, declaring that the great trumpet should be blown, and the sound thereof go forth to the ends of the earth ; that the Lord should blow it by His people, and that all nations should worship Jesus, whose glory should cover the whole earth ; and ended blessing the name of Jesus." Mr. Drummond "then prayed, and besought the Lord to fit him for his work, acknowledging his unfitness, and ascribing our alone fitness for any work to the power of Christ in us, crying to Him to enlighten our darkness, and give us counsel and strength."¹

It does not appear that, there was any outward ceremony performed in the appointment of Mr. Drummond, such as laying on of hands, or other direct authorization or separation by the Church. There was not even so much as in the case of Mr. Cardale, to whom Irving in the name of the Church gave a solemn charge. The sole title to Apostleship, besides an alleged inward call, was given by the voice of the prophets.

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, pp. 124—126.

Yet Drummond no less than Cardale proceeded to the works which were supposed to be exclusively those of an apostle. In these early days, neither of them acted without the express specific command of the prophet, and at the same time a prophetic movement of what was deemed to be supernatural power within the Apostles themselves. This so far evinced a certain modesty and hesitation in assuming an office so exalted. But before entire freedom from the imputation of self-seeking is accorded, we must bear in mind the many wiles and subterfuges which often mask ambition. The height to which Apostleship rises, in the ideas of people of the present day, and according to the actual claims preferred by the Members of the Body, is both perilous and dizzy.

It would appear that the manner in which the two first Apostles at this time showed the impulse within them was very effective in producing awe. "The extraordinary power by which the two senior apostles were at first moved in fulfilling apostolic acts was one of the many instances in which the Lord graciously condescended for a season to our ignorance and weakness, for it is more apparently supernatural, although not more so in reality, inasmuch as our Lord Himself always spoke and acted spontaneously and naturally, and not as under a constraining impulse."¹ Messrs. Cardale and Drummond continued so to act, till, in the early part of 1834, they were directed to visit certain churches, and to ordain ministers for them, without waiting for any special order, acting only by virtue of their office.

¹ *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 126.

Before the end of 1833, two other Apostles, Messrs. King—afterwards King-Church—and Perceval, were called in the same way as the two first.

The opening of 1834 was marked by the addition of some other churches to the body. On the 2nd of January, a church at Chatham was opened, and an angel ordained over it. In the same month the Rev. H. J. Owen, a clergyman, who had left the Church of England, was ordained angel over a Church in Chelsea; and on the same day, Mr. Horne, another clergyman, was ordained angel over a flock at Southwark. Mr. Owen's case was notorious at the time, and deserves more notice.

He had been minister of Park Chapel, Chelsea, for about twelve years, when in July, 1831, a supposed case of healing occurred in his parish. A Miss Hughes, who had been afflicted with curvature of the spine, was suddenly cured, after hearing of Miss Fancourt's and other cases, and having meditated upon passages in the Bible with prayer; and she ascribed her cure to a miraculous agency. Mr. Owen preached and afterwards published four sermons upon this case and upon the general subject of the gifts of the Holy Ghost, which he urged should be possessed by the Church. Amongst the members of his congregation was his father-in-law, Dr. Bayford, an old student of prophecy, who had "spoken in the Spirit" in private meetings. At the end of one of Mr. Owen's sermons, Dr. Bayford, who was a regular communicant at Mr. Owen's church, cried out, "The darkness, the darkness, the darkness covereth, covereth the earth, and gross darkness the people thereof."¹ Mr. Owen thought

¹ Evans' *Denominations of Religion*, p. 288.

himself bound to inform the Bishop of London, then Dr. Blomfield, who ordered him not to allow such interruptions of his ministrations in future. This produced further correspondence, the end of which was that Mr. Owen resigned his office as perpetual curate of Park Chapel, but continued to preach in the same locality. Some of his former flock followed him, and others joined the congregation, which thus formed the nucleus of the future Church at Chelsea.

Meanwhile, Irving continued in Newman Street, acquiescing in his new and subordinate position. He was expecting some much greater manifestation of spiritual power, which was to be shown in the Baptism by fire, and in Apostolic gifts far superior to Mr. Cardale's and Mr. Drummond's halting action. For amongst the earlier prophecies had been one that the ministers of God should be baptized with fire, and should then be carried to their mission just as Philip was from the presence of the eunuch. And there had been another, that Irving himself was to go to Scotland as a mighty prophet, and to gather all the people of God under his preaching. Similarly Armstrong was to go to Ireland.¹ To Irving's grand ideas and expectations, and in the experience of his own unquestioned genius, these petty proceedings and this narrow weakness of ordinary men must have been prosaic and wearisome. Perhaps he was really being schooled into Christian submission by being frequently hindered and thwarted through the unexpected interference of prophets and apostles.

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 21.

In January, 1834, he was sent to Edinburgh on a mission to the Church which was established there under a Mr. Tait, who had formerly been minister of the College Church. The outpouring had taken place here, and had been attended by the usual concomitants, viz., utterances so debased that they were condemned by several who accepted the better class of "gifts." It was thought that from Irving's experience in such cases he would be able to deal with this "evil spirit," as it was taken to be. His ministrations appear to have been very effective; and though he did not preach with the freedom which used to characterize him, he nevertheless attracted great crowds, and met with marked success.

A month after his return, Mr. Cardale and Mr. Drummond visited Edinburgh, and ordained Mr. Tait to be angel there. They also visited Greenock, and then Mr. Drummond returned to London in the month of April. Mr. Cardale, accompanied by a prophet and evangelist, went on to Glasgow, Paisley, Kirkcudbright, and other places, ordaining ministers as he went.

Whilst they were away Mr. Taplin delivered an utterance, that "the tabernacle of the Lord shall be pitched." This was uttered over and over again, with some variation, for about a month, when he further said that the sixty pillars of the tabernacle should be sixty ministers. Immediately about two hundred young men volunteered, and out of them were chosen sixty evangelists, each of whom selected a help or coadjutor. The sixty were arranged the next Sunday, thirty being set in either gallery, opposite to one another. All thought that

the tabernacle of the Lord would really be soon pitched, and that the Glory of the Lord would enter it, as on a new Day of Pentecost. Irving preached on the occasion, teaching, and applying what had occurred to the present occasion, and speaking words of exhortation and encouragement to those who had been chosen, and bringing comfort to the unsuccessful. In the course of the next week a letter came from Mr. Cardale, "in his apostolic office," rebuking both Irving and Taplin, who had, he said, been deluded, the whole being a suggestion of Satan. They were ordered to summon the sixty, and to tell them that what had been done was null and void. Irving obediently complied: he had cast in his lot, and was not a man to do things by halves. Taplin left Newman Street for a time in dudgeon, and Irving publicly declared to the congregation just before he left home on his last journey, in the autumn of 1834, "that Mr. Taplin was in open rebellion against his authority."¹

A specimen of what occurred in the congregations in the Community is given in the following accounts given by an eye-witness in one of the chapels. "One of the twelve apostles, in his visit to our chapel, silenced two of our prophets; one of them for pretending to speak the words of the Lord when he spoke his own, and the other for using the language of adoration to the apostle. The acknowledged prophet amongst us was suspended from his prophetic office for the space of many months, and was not allowed to partake of the Lord's Supper, because

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*.

he called one of the elders to the apostleship.”¹ In this chapel prophesying was first confined to women, who were spoken of under the name of “gifted handmaids.” In course of time these prophetesses delivered messages inconsistent with previous revelations, as, for example, upon the teaching about the Holy Eucharist.² Upon this they were addressed by the angel as follows: “Hitherto the Lord could not find a man worthy to be the channel of communicating His will and pleasure to the Church, and therefore was compelled to use the handmaids; but now the Lord having found a proper channel in a prophet, He would no longer require the females to be the medium of the Divine messages.” The prophetesses were therefore dismissed, and “by a command we were ordered through the apostle to be no longer obedient to any word coming through the handmaids.”³

We learn, too, from the same witness the appearance exhibited by these prophets when under the mysterious influence. “Most of them, before giving utterance to the Spirit, exhibited dreadful contortions, not only of the features but of the whole body, and appeared as if they were suffering the most cruel tortures; indeed, to such a length were these exhibitions carried, that even our angel could not sit quietly by and see them persevered

¹ *Narrative of Henry John Marks, formerly a Jew, &c.*, with an introduction by the Rev. Charles B. Taylor, M.A. London: Hatchard and Son, 1838, p. 123.

² “Records,” *i. e.* the written records of prophetic utterances, were read in public service. They took care, however, “not to read anything to the people, which should have the effect of ‘stumbling’ them, as it is appropriately termed.”—*English Review*, xxxii. 124.

³ *Marks*, p. 123.

in, but arose and gently admonished the gifted ones to cease, or omit their gestures, contortions, or any extravagant action, and only give unrestrained or easy utterance to the Spirit. His exhortation, however, was only partially attended to.”¹ But these features, which must have appeared very objectionable and repulsive in the eyes of many, were regarded apparently with no disfavour by their enthusiastic friends. “However soft the exclamation, or harsh or discordant the utterance (and we had all varieties of tone), we were always informed it was the “still, small voice.” One person “was known to have practised at home the words that she, or, as it was said, the Spirit, should utter in the church.”² It is but just to add that “the apostle rebuked the angel for want of discernment of spirits.”

In the August of this summer, instruction came through the prophets about the hours which were to be observed in daily worship. The first and last hours of the day were to be set apart, viz., six o'clock in the morning and five o'clock in the afternoon or evening. It was declared that the order of Christian worship was to follow the arrangements made by Moses, inasmuch as the latter are said in the Epistle to the Hebrews to be the “figures of the true.”

In September Irving left London never to return. As has been already mentioned, prophecies had been given that he was to go forth into Scotland as a great prophet, and was to be the means of the conversion of vast multitudes. The cholera had come to England this

¹ *Marks*, p. 129.

² *Ibid.* p. 130.

year ; and though the attack was severe, nevertheless the actual prostration of the people and loss of life did not at all correspond with the imaginative pictures which had been drawn in so-called prophetic vision. It seems probable that, upon the failure of this visitation to justify anticipations, and in the absence of other manifestations, such as the baptism by fire, and amidst the general decline of Irving's own following, and the increasing weakness of his bodily health, he was led to make another supreme effort to place the cause which he had espoused upon a more commanding basis. His personal friends thoroughly disapproved of the journey, for he had for some months been so weak that he had been often carried off into houses not his own, where he could rest on a sofa without being interrupted by constant calls, such rest being simply impossible in his own house.¹ According to some of his friends, authoritative orders came that he should start upon his mission, but others deny this. Some of those who were not so intimate with him remonstrated. But Irving's own heart was really set upon making the attempt.

He therefore started off by short stages to work his way northward into Scotland, notwithstanding the warnings of his doctor that he could not expect to live through the winter except in a warm climate. After passing by Bridgenorth, where Mr. Dalton had gathered "two flocks,"² he went on through North Wales to Liverpool, where, on the 13th of October, he was attacked by

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, pp. 405—408.

² Irving's letter in *Oliphant*, p. 411 (ed. 4).

so severe an illness that he sent for his wife, who had stayed behind in London. When she reached him his pulse was at 100, and he was sadly weak and ill. Notwithstanding this they moved on northward by sea to Glasgow, where he was set upon doing a great work. Although death was plainly written upon him, both Irving and his wife had confidence in the "Word of the Lord," that he had a great future before him in the mission which brought him to Scotland.¹

He reached Glasgow late in October, and from thence wrote two affecting letters, in which he spoke of the exaltation of the Lord Jesus Christ alone in the Church, of his own too great forwardness, and of the necessity of prayers for the out-pouring of the Spirit.² It has been stated that at the time of his death he was "in a state of gloom and perplexity, and uttered many words of exhortation and warning to those in attendance on his death-bed."³ This statement is grounded upon some manuscript letters circulated at the time, and afterwards "seen and perused" by the author of the statement. But from inquiries which I have been enabled to make, I am convinced that the inference is not warranted by the facts. No doubt when hopes had been so exalted and expectations so confident, whilst actual results were so attenuated, some gloom must have settled over the spirits of the dying man, and he must have experienced a difficulty in adhering to his previous belief. For he seems

¹ Oliphant's *Life of Irving*, p. 422.

² Norton's *Restoration*, pp. 128—131.

³ *English Review*, vol. xxviii. p. 279.

up to the last to have been looking for a signal display of supernatural Power which was never exhibited. But that Irving actually cherished doubts about the truth of his own teaching, or upon the general action of his followers and associates, or that he was a victim to perplexity, is not true, as I have satisfactory reason to believe, to the real history of his last illness.

On the 8th of December he died of consumption, a broken-down, worn-out old man, though at the age of forty-two, "hoary as with extreme age." He was buried in the crypt of Glasgow Cathedral.

Such was the close of the career of Edward Irving, a man who shone like a bright meteor for a few years in London, then rapidly paled, and was gone from the earth for ever. His was a truly noble nature. There was nothing base, or petty, or weak in his composition, if we may say with entire justice as we certainly may with partial truth, that even his errors were strong. He was thoroughly consistent. He gazed upon a lofty ideal, and pursued it ardently, undeviatingly, unflinchingly, notwithstanding great and constant personal sacrifice. "There was in him a courage, dauntless, not pugnacious, hardly fierce, by no possibility ferocious; as of the generous war-horse, gentle in its strength, yet that laughs at the shaking of the spear."¹ He was also a most kind-hearted man; at the very beck and call of those who needed him. "One who knew him well, and may with good cause love him, has said, 'But for Irving I had never known what the communion of man with man

¹ Carlyle's *Essays*, v. 128.

means. His was the freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul mine ever came in contact with ; I call him, on the whole, the best man I have ever, after trial enough, found in this world, or ever hope to find.'"¹

But Irving doubtless had his faults. He was tempted severely, and, we may say, he fell. The height to which he was suddenly raised upon his arrival in London, at the age of hardly thirty, was enough to turn almost any man's head. Traces of the effects upon him of this sudden and high exaltation are discoverable in the arrogance of his controversial style, and in his habitual refusal to suspend his judgment. When in course of time fashion forsook him, and it was perhaps strangely fickle in those days, he was led on, without realizing it to himself, to seek for bizarre attractions. He thus moved onwards from point to point as by an inexorable progress, upon which he had himself entered, under the tyranny of tongues and prophecies, to which he himself never laid any claim, and of an apostleship from which he was excluded. Still "Irving clave to his belief as to his soul's soul ; followed it whithersoever, through earth or air, it might lead him ; toiling as never man toiled to spread it, to gain the world's ear for it—in vain. The misguided, noble-minded had nothing left to do but die. He died the death of the true and the brave. His last words, they say, were, 'In life and death I am the Lord's.' Amen ! Amen !"²

Irving and Chalmers, two Scotch ministers brought much together, presented great contrasts to one another.

¹ Carlyle's *Essays*, v. 130.

² Ibid.

On one occasion they had been visiting Coleridge, who had great affection and admiration for "honoured Irving," as he called the latter, when Chalmers remarked as they were walking away, "I do not understand much that Coleridge says, he speaks so obscurely; I like to see all sides of an idea before taking up with it." "Ah," replied Irving, "you Scotchmen would handle an idea as a butcher handles an ox; for my part, I love to see an idea looming through the mist."¹ If the critical discovered in Chalmers evidence of a dull want of intuition, they would also find in Irving the impetuous, incautious character of youth, which might easily be led astray by some will-o'-the-wisp that caught his fancy. The Irvingites appear to have truth on their side, when they impute to him a want of organizing power. He would never have constructed their system if he had been left to himself. He never became an apostle, though they had no other man with gifts at all comparable to his. And he never became a prophet, though his mind was in some respects exactly one through which we might have expected, if through any, inspiration to have flashed.

During this year the two senior apostles extended the area of the sect considerably by visits to Chatham, Brighton, Southampton, and Lymington, Bath, Bristol, Wells, Chepstow, and Frome. An angel, Mr. Seton, was ordained for the church in Islington. And before the close of the year two more, viz., Messrs. Armstrong and Woodhouse, were designated as Apostles.²

¹ Hanna's *Life of Chalmers*, vol. iii. p. 160, note.

² *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 126.

In November, whilst Irving was ill at Glasgow, and when financial difficulties were in prospect about the support of the service of God, including the maintenance of the ministry, some instruction was given upon tithes, which have since that time formed a prominent part of the Irvingite system. They observed that, as Leslie on tithes has shown, there is not improbably in Abel's offering, as contrasted with Cain's, a recognition of the doctrine of the payment of tithes as an acknowledgment of the sovereignty of Almighty God, and of His mercies in the preservation and maintenance of men. They found traces in heathen nations of this custom, as if it had been taught to mankind in the earliest times. And the well-known case of Melchizedek seemed to prove that the custom prevailed, not only amongst the progenitors of the children of Israel, but in the people also that lived round about them. They found also that the practice of the Church in the earliest ages bore witness to this principle.

Accordingly, in January, 1835, exhortations were given to the people to observe this duty, and to dedicate a tenth of their revenues to God, not as a voluntary offering, but as being due to Him as a matter of right, for Him to dispose of as He might think good. It was declared that this payment is not made to the priesthood for any ministerial services rendered by them, so as to make them the paid servants of the people, but that the tithe is paid as an offering due to Almighty God for His benefits, and that, after it is received by Him, He gives it for the maintenance of the priesthood; so

that they are "independent of the people, and dependent upon Him." The distinction which exists between tithes and voluntary offerings was also explained; the former being God's due in return for His blessings, and as a sanctification too of the remainder; the latter being purely free-will offerings, inasmuch as they are made when such Divine claims are satisfied.¹

During the year 1834, and in the early part of 1835, certain conflicting claims were reconciled and set at rest. It will be remembered that collision had occurred between Taplin as prophet, and Irving as angel, and between Irving and the apostles Cardale and Drummond. It was now settled, or as the members of the Body would say, shown, first, that the angel of a Church is over and above the prophet. The angel by his office has to give authority to all who minister in the church, and he is supposed to be over all who worship there, so that the prophets are subject to his sway. His duty is to instruct and advise all who need such instruction and advice, upon the nature and employment of spiritual gifts, so that they may themselves discern whether the Holy Spirit is really speaking through them, and may minister truly and faithfully to the utterance. The angel is also bound to exercise such control as shall lead to the detection by him and elimination of evil spirits.

Again, the angel in his administration of any particular Church is under the apostles and the Universal Church. He was therefore taught that in his decisions he must refer to the authority over him, lest he should

¹ See *Appendix VII.*

virtually decide questions concerning a much wider area than that of his own congregation.

Collisions of some sort, it is evident, must take place when any new institution, founded upon new principles, is first brought into continued action. Fresh machinery, with unknown powers, needs to be tested and modified, so as to produce steady and equable movement, with force and counter-force, and without clogging or mutual interference of wheels and joints. Excellence is shown more by the adjustment which is productive of ultimate success than by an unimpeded movement in early stages which may be a sign of want of power. But if no skill in invention or management is able to reconcile opposing forces, some radical error must lurk in the original conception. Candour compels us to bear these principles in mind as we proceed with our history.

Shortly before Irving's death, after he had left London for the last time, an event occurred which constituted an important step in the assumption of government by the apostles. They were then six in number. Forming, therefore, an integral portion of the future Apostolic "College," they took upon them the presidency of the Council in London. They still held inferior ministries in various churches, so that this step implied a marked advance in their progress to supreme power. At Irving's death the management of the Church in Newman Street devolved upon Mr. Cardale, who afterwards ordained as angel Mr. Christopher Heath, one of the elders of the Church, and a dentist by profession, after he had been called by one of the prophets.¹ Mr. Heath continued

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, p. 37.

angel first in Newman Street, and afterwards in Gordon Square, till his death in November, 1876.

In the early part of 1835 two of the apostles were sent upon separate missions, one to the south-west, and the other into the east of England. The first of these visited old stations; the second went to Norwich, Cambridge, Chelmsford, and Ware. Each was accompanied by his prophet and evangelist; and each through the prophet received words of exhortation and encouragement, not to wait for special directions, but ordain by virtue of the call which they all had received appointing them to their office.

A prophecy had been given that, as there were seven Churches in Asia mentioned in the Revelation, so there were to be seven Churches in London, which should be called the spiritual Zion. Thus a model would be set up which the apostles were to imitate in their perfecting of the Church Universal. Seven being a complete number, and being mentioned frequently in the Bible with mystical significance, it was intended that "spiritual Zions" should be reared all over Christendom, and that thus there should be numerous complete centres in the Universal Church. Up to this time there were only five Churches in London, viz., in Newman Street, Bishopsgate, Chelsea, Islington, and Southwark. In June two new Churches were added, one at Paddington, which has always held a high position in the Communion, and the other at Westminster, which was short-lived.

Meanwhile the separation of the members of the Body from other Christians had been helped on by the

treatment which one of their number had experienced. Mr. Dalton was incumbent of St. Leonard's, Bridgenorth, which was then a royal peculiar. On the 4th July, 1833, at a court then held he was formally delated by one of the churchwardens of his parish, for "having at sundry times indulged the practice of preaching in the public ways of the parish, for having altered the service of the Church in the reading of the prayers and lessons, for having substituted prayers of his own for the prescribed forms of the Church at different times in the chancel of the said church, and also for publishing certain opinions in a pamphlet entitled *The Baptism of the Holy Ghost*, which pamphlet advocates certain tenets and practices contrary to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England." Mr. Dalton was presented again the next year by another parishioner and by both of the churchwardens for preaching in the public streets, and having unauthorized services in the church. After proceedings which occupied the early half of 1835, Mr. Dalton was deprived on the 28th July for omitting "the prayers and offices of the liturgy" and using prayers of his own composition, and for promulgating "opinions and doctrines contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, for disobedience to the lawful commands of the ordinary, for attempting to enforce unlawful regulations respecting the administration of the sacrament, denouncing those who refused to comply, for improperly and illegally christening and refusing to christen, and also to bury, for permitting and encouraging the interruption of Divine service."

The great culminating event of Irvingism was now at hand.

The Body had hitherto been characterized by the sanguine hope of youth. In spite of failing prospects and waning strength, Irving had maintained grand expectations up to the very last. Notwithstanding troubles and the falling off of friends, and the cold distance of members upon whom he had reckoned, he nevertheless cherished the belief that all would be set right by a mighty manifestation in the Baptism by fire, and in the mission, under circumstances of striking effect, of a complete Apostolate, with vastly increased powers, which would prove the justice of his position, and would draw together the faithful in multitudes to the Lord just before His Advent upon earth. Irving had now passed away from the domain of faith into the region of sight, but his ardent hopes remained behind, and his co-religionists were anxiously awaiting the issues of the passing days.

Prophecies now began to be strong and frequent upon the subject of the appointment of the remaining six, who were required to make up the number of the twelve apostles. It was remembered that one of Mr. Baxter's prophecies, which had been received at the time, was to the effect that 1260 days from the 14th of January, 1832, would elapse before "a great gift should be bestowed,"¹ which was thereupon to be vouchsafed. Mr. Baxter, who delivered the prophecy, contends that when delivered it was accepted in the literal signification of the words, that Irving understood it in that light, and that "the

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 20.

opening of the chapters in the Revelation concerning the trumpets, which was confirmed by Mr. David Dow, proceeded upon the same assumption."

The scope of the prophecy, as given by Mr. Baxter, was as follows:—"We were also promised that at the close of three years and a half of testimony to the world, commencing from the 14th of January, 1832, the Lord Jesus would come in glory; the living saints would be caught up to meet Him; the dead saints would be raised, and the world would be given over to judgment for an appointed season, before the millennial glory would be established in it." In another place Mr. Baxter says:—"The declaration of the two witnesses was again repeated, and very distinctly we were commanded to count the days, one thousand, three score, and two hundred—1260—days appointed for testimony, at the end of which the saints of the Lord should go up to meet the Lord in the air, and evermore be with the Lord. . . . The prophecy of the 1260 days' testimony and going up of the saints set forth a period of three years and a half from the time of its delivery up to the translation of the saints. The words of the prophecy were most distinct, to count from that day (viz., 14th January, 1832) 1260 days, and three days and a half (Rev. xi. 11); and on innumerable other occasions, by exposition and by prophecy, was the same thing again and again declared, and most largely opened."¹

However, it was settled that the 1260 days should be

¹ Baxter's *Narrative*, pp. 24, 18. Mr. Baxter adds more to the same effect. Mr. Cardale answers him in his *Letter on the Statements, &c.*

taken as referring to the appointment of the apostles, and July 14th was fixed for their formal "separation," as a College, by the Church, and as the first day of a holy convocation, which was to last for seven days. Expectations were entertained that the Apostolate would be endowed with miraculous powers, and would be able to bestow the Holy Ghost by the laying on of hands.¹

In June, a month before the time, the remaining six apostles were called, viz., Messrs. Sitwell, Tudor, Dalton, Carlyle, W. Dow, and David Dow. Notice was duly sent to them to be present on July the 7th, when, in pursuance of an utterance given at the beginning of July, they were summoned to meet the angels of all the Churches throughout England, and to continue a week with them in London, "waiting upon the Lord, who at the end of that time would perform His promise."² They were then on the 14th to be formally "separated" by the Church. Five out of the six signified their consent and promise of coming.

But the Rev. David Dow, a Scotch minister who had been deprived because of his acknowledging the gifts of tongues, a man highly respected, who, as has been related, had accompanied Irving to his trial before the Presbytery of Annan, wrote to decline the honour. He felt too deeply his own inability to support so high a responsibility, and doubted the validity of the call. No one could blame such diffident modesty, but it placed his associates in a position of much difficulty. What would

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*.

² *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 133.

be said of calls made by the prophets if in a matter of such importance one of them became practically ineffectual? Could not his scruples be overcome? Accordingly when notwithstanding solicitations Mr. Dow was not present on the 7th of July, by which time delegates had already assembled from all the congregations throughout England, two of the most influential in the congregation were sent off into Scotland to find him. They travelled with all haste night and day, but only to find, when they reached Mr. Dow's house, that he had preceded them to London. On their return they found him, but notwithstanding all the arguments used, he declined even to enter the church.

When the failure of this deputation was reported, the spirits of the Church were kept up by the imagined analogy of the fall of Judas and the choice of St. Matthias, made between him and Joseph called Barsabas, to supply the place. They met in solemn conclave on the morning of the 14th, and in church the apostles were directed to choose out of the rest two "who had companied with them from the beginning." Mr. Mackenzie, the elder who had supported Irving in his trial in London, and Dr. Thompson, who had examined with Mr. Cardale the supposed cases of prophetic inspiration in Scotland, and had joined in the movement ever since, and so "had companied with them from the beginning," were the two selected. Of these Mackenzie was declared the twelfth apostle by prophetic voice. Great satisfaction was manifested at this clever extrication of the community from the serious lock which threatened their

affairs, and people did not care to enquire whether there was any real similarity between the case of one who, after having executed his office, probably for nearly two years, fell from it, and a man who, having been designated by the supposed Voice of the Holy Spirit, absolutely declined to undertake the office at all. Dr. Thompson was afterwards consoled for his want of success by being "appointed to an office only second to that of Apostle, viz., that of chief of the Pastors." The senior Prophet, viz., Taplin, had been before this made chief of the Prophets, and an Evangelist, Mr. Place, had been advanced to the head of the Evangelists under a similar appellation. These three with the senior Apostle, Mr. Cardale, were called "the four pillars," answering to the pillars of the Jewish tabernacle.

In the evening of the same day, the Apostolic College being now complete, the angels of the seven Churches in London, viz., Messrs. Heath, Miller, Owen, Horne, Seton, Leighton, and Wallace,¹ as representing all the angels, were directed to lay their hands upon them in token of their formal separation to be Apostles, after the pattern set forth in the separation of SS. Paul and Barnabas by the Church at Antioch. The other angels were present and stood close to them, as assenting to and witnessing the act. This separation was supposed not to be the ordination, which was imagined to have taken place before, and to have been effected by the great Head of the Church; for it was asserted that ordination can only be bestowed by a superior, so that no one upon earth, much

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*.

less a man or men of an inferior order of the ministry, could ordain Apostles, who were to be the rulers of the Universal Church of Christ.

Such was the termination of this great day, as these people esteem it, the fulfilment of long anticipations and prayers, and the seed-plot, as was fondly hoped, of countless and incalculable blessings. We do not hear of any grandeur in the service. Such proceedings were in those days marked by severe simplicity. The sole points which demanded notice were the accomplishment of long-cherished purpose, and the victory won over serious obstacles. It is true that no remarkable signs from heaven were vouchsafed, no mighty miracles were performed, and no symptoms were discovered of any remarkable outpouring of the Holy Spirit ; in fact, nothing at all sensational or extraordinary took place. The Apostles chosen were men of ordinary gifts. Many of them were profoundly distrustful of themselves, and only hoped for a future descent of Divine aid. They had a vast work before them—no less than that of healing the sicknesses of the Universal Church, of closing up mighty chasms, of welding together different nations varying in religious practice and in their interpretation of the common Creeds, and thus of preparing during the short span of their common life-time for the soon-expected Coming of the Lord. This formidable work lay before twelve English-speaking gentlemen, of whom only one was generally known in the world, and he was not a man who ever attained to any high eminence. Two of them had been clergymen, one a Presbyterian minister, two had been

members of parliament, two were solicitors, one an advocate of the Scotch bar, and the remaining four private gentlemen, either unemployed or with some professional or other employment.

It was to be expected, then, that two results would follow. First, those who either sat lightly to the system, or were attending meetings with minds undecided and not deeply touched, were repelled by such impotent measures for attaining such great ends, and retired from further participation in the proceedings of these people. Secondly, ardent partisans were strengthened in their adherence, because, with whatever drawbacks, the grand purpose of having Apostles in the Church was at length accomplished. They believed that they now possessed in germ God's own remedy for the evils that devastated the Church. The direct link between heaven and the Church was restored. It could not but be human, and beset with human infirmity. But God works through earthen vessels, which "out of weakness are made strong," and so witness by their very feebleness to the victorious advance of Divine Might.

How far this enthusiastic confidence was justified will be shown in the sequel.

CHAPTER IX.

APOSTOLIC RULE.



ACCORDING to the words of Mr. Thomas Carlyle, the Apostle for North Germany, a narrative by whom was given and published in substance with Mr. Carlyle's "permission" by Dr. Thiersch, three anointings of the Apostles were to take place. These anointings were to correspond to the three appointments of King David, who was first anointed by the prophet Samuel at Bethlehem, next by the men of Judah in Hebron, on the death of Saul, and lastly in the same place, on the demise of Ishbosheth, by all Israel, when he was made king over all the tribes. In the same way it was held that the Apostles were first virtually anointed with the Holy Spirit when they were severally called by the prophets and appointed, and secondly when the angels of the seven Churches, or the "Fortress of Zion" in England, the tribe of Judah, in the presence and with the assent of the other angels of the tribe, laid hands on them on the memorable 14th of July. This second anointing "took effect when they were separated, that their rule might extend over those

who received them, as that of David over the tribe of Judah.”¹

The third was supposed to be in prospect, when all the tribes should be organized with their several “Councils of Zion,” after the pattern set in the leading tribe, and the “Council of Jerusalem,” that is to say, “the assembly of angels from all the tribes of Christendom,” should be held. To this grand event those who felt distrust at past occurrences, as falling far short of their expectations, looked sanguinely forward. On that great occasion it was believed that all short-comings would be made good by the plenary outpouring of the Holy Spirit, and that “the Apostles, although already fully Apostles towards all who receive them,” should “receive a power and extent of jurisdiction which they did not then possess.” These anticipations have never been realized.

The office of Apostle, which by the two first anointings was supposed to be virtually conferred, though it was not yet “visibly established,” was taken to be universal in its operation over the whole Catholic Church. The Members of the Body contend that there is no proof that the first twelve Apostles ever bequeathed their office to any successors. Indeed they deny that it was in their power to appoint men to succeed them : firstly, because an apostle is “not of man, nor by man ;” and secondly, because, as they assert, no equal can appoint an equal ; he must receive his authority from a superior. I am not now concerned with examining into the soundness of these arguments, which are sifted later on in this work, my present

¹ *A short History of the Apostolic Work*, translated from the German. London, 1857, pp. 15, 16.

object being to give as fair and impartial an account as I can of both the history and the doctrines of these people, only drawing attention to such inconsistencies or discrepancies as it is the duty of a narrator or describer to point out.

There are said to be twenty-four Apostles, set forth by the four-and-twenty elders described as round about the Throne in the Revelation. Twelve of these were the Apostles of the Jews, appointed personally by our Lord, and the remaining twelve are the Apostles of the Gentiles, of whom we are now treating.¹ The first twelve came at the beginning of the Christian dispensation, to start and control the Church in her earliest days, and to superintend the preaching through the world, that all nations might have the opportunity of salvation. The last were sent at the end, to gather the Church together and to present it to Christ, after labour in all parts, upon His arrival for the millennium. The Gentile apostleship first appeared, in the case of St. Paul and Barnabas, as a germ which did not grow up to a full development. For St. Paul was an *ἐκτρωμα*, "born out of due time," when the faith of the Church was not adequate to so early a close of her existence. Accordingly, in those first ages, so it is represented, the Lord did not come, as it was generally supposed He would do. But instead of that,

¹ Accordingly, in the "apostles' chapel" at Albury there are twenty-four carved stalls in the sacrum, of which twelve were occupied by the twelve Albury apostles, and twelve are said—though the accuracy of this statement is not vouched for—to be "reserved for the original twelve when they should return with our Blessed Lord at His second coming."—*Union Review*, No. lxxi. p. 41, note.

the apostolic control of the Church failed through the deaths of the twelve, and by degrees the Church declined in faith, and became separated into divisions, which through the ordinary agency were irreconcilable. And no wonder; for bishops, who were the successors of bishops, not of apostles, had a jurisdiction which was local over their own dioceses, not universal over the Catholic Church. Hence the uniting, welding, directing force over the whole body was wanting, and the body was naturally broken up into fragments. For bishops are more as colonels over regiments, apostles are the general officers. It was reserved for these latter days, when faith became firm, and zeal earnest, and prayer ascended up to heaven assiduously for the restoration of this integral part of the fourfold ministry, to witness the bestowal of this closing gift to the Church, that these men might present the Church to the Lord at His coming. Being sent directly from Him, they would also form the upper portion of the channel through which grace would descend upon the people of God. It is not to be denied that grace has been bestowed through the instrumentality of the previously-existing ministry, who were duly appointed in regular succession from the first twelve, but not grace in plenary abundance; besides that, as the new apostles were thus ready to bestow it, all men ought to recognize their claims, and seek it in its fulness in the proper way.

To this Apostolic office, as thus described, the following twelve men were called. First there was Mr. Cardale, the London solicitor, of Bedford Row. Next, Mr.

Drummond, the banker of Charing Cross, who had been before, and was to be again for many years, a member of parliament. Next, the Rev. Nicholas Armstrong, M.A., of Irish extraction, who had been rector of S. Dunstan-in-the-West, in Fleet Street, a man who acknowledged that he had no special gifts as an apostle, except patience, with which he humbly waited in expectation of them.¹ The Rev. Henry Dalton, M.A., a clergyman with English Orders, who had also been a Scotch minister, was another, and had been useful to the sect by his labours at and near Bridgenorth, for which, as has been related, he was deprived of his living. Mr. Spencer Perceval, another, was son to the prime-minister who was shot by Bellingham in the lobby of the House of Commons, and grandson to the second Earl of Egmont, and had himself been a member of parliament for some years. Mr. Thomas Carlyle has been mentioned as a school-fellow of Irving's, and as an advocate of the Scotch Bar, who defended some of Irving's early associates in the actions promoted by the Kirk. Mr. Frank Sitwell was the owner of Barmoor Castle in Northumberland, the second representative, next to the baronet, of an old family, which traces its origin to Seawald, or Seadwald. Mr. Sitwell's sister, Mary Amelia, married John Tait, Esq., eldest brother to the present Archbishop of Canterbury. The Rev. W. Dow, M.A., was formerly in Scotch Presbyterian Orders. He had been one of the regular attendants of the Albury conferences, and a writer in the *Morning Watch*. Mr. Tudor

¹ Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 30.

has been mentioned as editor of the *Morning Watch*, who also took a prominent part in some of the meetings at Albury. Mr. King had been employed in the Tower of London, and took the additional name of Church upon coming to some property. Mr. Mackenzie was a Presbyterian layman, the elder of the Church in Regent Square that chiefly supported Irving on his trial, and followed him from Regent Square upon his expulsion. Mr. Woodhouse was a solicitor, a son of Dean Woodhouse who wrote upon the Apocalypse.

These twelve were now directed by the voice of prophecy to go to Albury, as "an example of self-sacrifice," and there to remain in retirement for a year. Seven prophets were appointed for the Universal Church, in contradistinction to local Churches, and were ordered to accompany them. A year was to be spent by the whole body in reading daily the Holy Scriptures, starting from the beginning and proceeding regularly to the end. They were also to be constant in prayer. In order that they might be relieved from other cares, the apostles were removed from the offices, which, as angels or elders, they had held before they were separated as apostles. Their entire time was to be given up to the study of the written Word, and to their mutual consultations. All that they had to do with the Churches without was to be comprised in occasional visits. "They sought to acquire the knowledge of the fundamental principles by means of which the Church was to be edified."¹ But Drummond still continued to hold his office as angel of the

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 21.

Church in Albury. There were in England, Scotland, and Ireland, now about twenty-four Churches of the Catholic Apostolic persuasion.¹

To the pretty village of Albury, then, the twelve retired, but not now to meet as of yore in the Park library, but in the chapter-house or council-chamber of their cathedral Church, which had been built, a very favourable specimen of the early Gothic of the present century, just outside of Mr. Drummond's grounds. In this chapter-house is a table specially made for the purpose, in the shape of a dodecagon, with a side for each apostle, and room in the centre for the "scribes." Seats are placed round the chamber for the prophets and others who are present.

During their deliberations, great stress was laid upon the Apostles being a corporate college with an essential unity of its own. This character was insisted upon in several prophecies, so much so, indeed, that it was expressed in a recognized phrase, viz., the Apostles' "twelve-fold unity." Not only was nothing to be done without the Apostles, but their authorization was absolutely necessary for the validity of any order on a question of doctrine or discipline. The Irvingites at this time, in their enthusiastic delight at having come into the long-desired possession of their new ordinance of the Restored Apostolate, went much further. Unanimity was declared to be indispensable. One warning ran to this effect: "If an apostle says 'No,' ye have not the mind of the Lord. If a foundation be wanting, how 'shall the

¹ *Short History of Apostolic Work*, p. 13, note.

city be builded?' And the Apostles when separated were directed to abide together till they should be all of one mind. And further, in reference to the acting of individual apostles, the angels were reminded that it was by the authority of the Apostleship, by the voice of the twelve, and not by the voice of one, that they were to be ruled; by the voice of 'the twelve'—'the one.'"¹ Because "the Apostles, as a body, corporate or college, as an unity, are the law-givers and rulers of the Church, through whom the Lord fulfils His office, as the anti-type of Moses, speaking from heaven. . . . Whenever an apostle acts officially, he speaks and acts not of himself, or in his own name, but as expressing the mind of the Lord, which is only found in the Apostolic College, and to this Apostolic College he is responsible for what he does. And herein consists the true unity of rule and doctrine—not in one person having the mind of Christ, but in a twelve-fold Apostleship."² "The matter here referred to, the unity of the Apostleship, the twelve-fold unity, was much insisted upon at the time; and the Apostles, while occupied in legislating for the Church, were much warned and reminded by the Lord of their twelve-fold unity."³

An important advance was now made in their observances in worship. Up to this time the Holy Communion had been administered only once a month. But in July, 1835, at Albury, the practice of weekly Communion was

¹ The "narrative" quoted in *Apostolic Lordship and the Interior Life: a narrative of five years' communion with Catholic Apostolic Angels*, 1873.

² "Narrative" quoted in *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 53.

³ Ibid.

introduced. Nevertheless things in this respect were still in a rudimentary state. There was no form of liturgy, and consecration was performed by "the breaking of the Bread, and the repetition of the words of Institution." Then the elements were borne away by the deacons and administered to the people, who remained in their places kneeling. But unleavened bread was used, because leaven was regarded as an emblem of corruption. The example thus set at Albury was not followed in London till a year after, being adopted on July 24th, 1836.

About the time that the apostles were separated, what was called the mystery of the Tabernacle was set forth. This forms another specimen of the symbolical interpretation of the Bible, in which this sect so greatly delights. They consider that the hidden meaning of the Bible has been declared to them, and that the possession by them of this hidden meaning, as interpreted by means of prophets and apostles, is a most valuable part of the privileges which they think they enjoy.

They observe that the description of the tabernacle in the Bible is exceedingly minute, and that the account of it, as unfolded down to numerous little particulars, occupies no less than a dozen chapters; being twelve times as many as are concerned in the narrative of the creation of the world. To run through the main points, they interpret as follows:—The chief materials of the tabernacle are said to be gold, silver, and brass. Of these gold being a yellow metal, like the sun, symbolizes "the truth as it is in Jesus." Silver, which is more like the

silvery moon, sets forth the manifestation in the Church of the love of Christ. Brass is supposed to represent spiritual strength; iron, which was not found in the tabernacle, fleshly might. The four coverings of the tabernacle, oil, the four spices of anointing, the four spices for incense, and the three divisions of the tabernacle, all were interpreted as having their respective significations. But what concerns us more now is the manner in which these interpreters explained some parts as showing the number of men employed in their chief orders of ministers.

The tabernacle is described as surrounded by sixty pillars, which were said to stand for sixty evangelists, who were also represented by the sixty valiant men that were gathered around Solomon's bed,¹ "every one with his sword upon his thigh, for fear of the night." These sixty evangelists were under five angel-evangelists,² who were typified by the five pillars at the entrance of the holy place; for the duty of the evangelists was with the people of the outer world, whom they were to lead into the true Church. Again, inasmuch as there are forty-eight boards, these represent the forty-two elders of the seven Churches, six in each, headed by the six junior apostles, who corresponded to the six of those boards which were at the further end of the tabernacle. And as there were five bars which upheld these boards, so the five apostles next to the first were directed to instruct

¹ *Cant.* iii. 7, 8.

² The first five were Dr. Hamilton Roe, Mr. Stevenson, Mr. Douglass (centre), Mr. Trimmen, and Mr. Sturgeon. Mr. Douglass, the author of the *Chronicle*, was afterwards succeeded by Sir George Hewett.

the council upon the principles according to which the decision of the meeting was to be given. The four pillars between the holy place and the Holiest of Holies were considered to stand for the senior apostle, prophet, evangelist, and pastor, as respectively the pillar of the apostles, of the prophets, of the evangelists, and of the pastors. The angels of the seven Churches were signified by the seven lamps of the golden candlestick; and two elders who acted as scribes or secretaries, by the two corner boards of the tabernacle.¹

These ministers, and certain others with them, were supposed to form the Council of Zion, which was ordered to meet every month, upon the fourth Tuesday in the month. When they met, the proceedings were conducted according to fixed order.

The subject of discussion having been settled, the five apostles who ranked next to the senior apostle laid down the principles by which the decision was to be guided. Then the five chief evangelists opened the case, showing the application of those principles and their bearing upon it. Then the elders gave their counsel, which was summed up by the seven angels. Then they waited to see whether the word of prophecy would come from any of the prophets² who had their

¹ *Appendix VI.*

² The seven prophets, who are said to have been Taplin, Drummond, Cardale, Bayford, Lady H. Drummond, Miss E. Cardale, and Mrs. Cardale.—Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 12. It will be observed what influence was thus given to Messrs. Drummond and Cardale, especially as Taplin was originally brought forward by Mrs. and Miss Cardale.—Baxter's *Irvingism*, p. 16. Dr. Bayford was the proctor in Doctors' Commons. Their number was increased to twelve.—Drummond's *Discourses*, p. 107.

places in the council, which was uncertain in operation, sometimes being delivered, sometimes withheld. Lastly, the apostles delivered their judgment through the senior apostle, either at once, or after deliberation in private, or on some future occasion. It was then formally recorded by the scribes, and a copy was committed to the four pillars, *i.e.* the pillar of the apostles, of the prophets, evangelists, and pastors respectively, to communicate to their respective ministries. But supposing that the subject under discussion was one in which the evangelists were the proper advisers, then the sixty evangelists attached to the Churches in London gave counsel; the substance of which was summed up by the five angel-evangelists, and presented by them to the council.

By the opening of the year 1836, events had proceeded thus far. In London the seven Churches had been formed, every one with angel, priests, and deacons. Daily worship was offered in each. And for spreading the new tenets, five bands of evangelists were gathered, each under an angel, and were now at work. To hold all together, and to direct combined and harmonious movement, the twelve apostles had been called and assembled, whilst the prophets contributed "light," and the elders counsel to their joint deliberations, so that their decisions and determinations were the results of the working of the entire machine. But as yet the action was only in one part of the world. A grand Council of Jerusalem was in prospect, consisting, after the pattern of the wall of the New Jerusalem, which measures an hundred and forty-four cubits, of an hundred and forty-four

angels, and assembled from the whole of Christendom. For this mode of action just described, which included the order of the council and the labours of the evangelists, "was declared to be the model according to which God would work in the Church Universal; and that in every land His purpose should be effected upon the same principle, and in accordance with that pattern."¹

Such were the words of the chronicle of the body; they are redolent of youth and of fresh enthusiasm. If these were really the Lord's arrangements He would surely bring them to pass by His mighty power, notwithstanding any weakness of human instruments, and any then present sources of discouragement. How different the stubborn facts of after history! The Council of Zion itself fell into abeyance, at least for a time, and afterwards only rose with diminished splendour and under a new appellation, and the model has been followed in no other land.

"Quæ cuncta aerii discerpunt irrita venti."

"These words he spake, but all in vain;
Like flakes of snow, or idle rain,
They fell abroad, or there, or here,
Borne by the winds in mad career."

So the apostles, with their prophetic assessors, passed two years and a half in the delightful quiet of Albury. In the first part of the time they read the Holy Scriptures at their daily meetings, so that, as they went through the whole canon of Scripture, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of the Revelation, their work had a certain completeness. Their conclusions, too, were

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 24.

solely what they conceived to be either recognized or appointed in the written Word. "The mystery of the constitution and destination of the Church, the order of public worship, the right way of government, the relations of the Church to the world, the meaning of past history and present events, and the issue of this closing dispensation, were all made clear to us from the types of the Jewish tabernacle and ordinances, and from the other, especially the prophetic, Scriptures."¹ Such is the account of Mr. T. Carlyle, one of the apostles. "From a state of ignorance," he adds, "we were translated into the knowledge of the purpose of God."

There were also two other parts of their peculiar doctrine which were made clear, as they thought, to the minds of these adventurous students. The first of these is a Christian doctrine of great importance, though one that has fallen into strange neglect, and is liable, therefore, to still more misunderstanding, even amongst those who ought by training and position to be better informed. From the study of the Jewish tabernacle, and from the rites therein performed, "the twelve" and their associates learnt how the one great peerless Sacrifice of the Lord threw its impress over all Divine worship, past and future. They saw how the whole Church, not the ministry only, though the ministry primarily and especially, has a priestly character. They were led to the appreciation of the great truth of the Incarnation, as the vast central verity in the salvation of mankind; issuing out in real and efficacious sacraments and ordinances,

¹ *Short History*, p. 14.

which do not supersede individual communion with the Father of spirits, but nevertheless are the chief channels of His grace. So they were carried on to the necessity of baptism into Christ by the hands of ministers, and to the place which the holy Eucharist occupies, as not only the centre, but the foundation also, of all worship, and the means of feeding spiritually on Christ through the consecrated Elements.¹

The other point concerned their own distinguishing tenet of a fourfold ministry, as consisting of apostles, prophets, evangelists, and pastors. They rushed to the conclusion that all the instances in which the number "four" is found in the Bible represented in type this arrangement. Thus the four rivers of Eden, the four living Creatures in the Apocalypse, the Cherubim in the vision of Ezekiel, and the quadruple encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness, were supposed to enshrine the four ministries which they adopted: the royal lion symbolizing apostolic rule, the eagle the prophetic spirit soaring into the mysteries of God, the man showing the social propensities of the persuasive evangelist, and the ox the pastoral life of the shepherd of souls.

Whilst the apostles were thus engaged, the five bands of evangelists, under the lead of their respective angels, were hard at work, and prepared measures for occasional visits of the apostles from Albury, to ordain and set the churches generally in order. So that by the end of the year 1836 there were as many as thirty-six churches throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland.² Visits were

¹ Norton's *Restoration*, p. 145. *Short History*, p. 15. ² *Chronicle*, p. 21.

also paid every Sunday to one or other of the seven churches in London for more than a year by an apostle attended by a prophet, in order that through them the faithful generally might be made fully acquainted with the fresh points of doctrine and discipline which were coming forth under the sanction of apostolic authority.

But their designs were of a much more lofty character than merely to include Great Britain and Ireland, or even all the subjects of the then King William within their purview. Angels or bishops found their sphere amongst those who had been committed to their spiritual charge. But were not apostles officers of the Universal Church, whose duty it was to bring together into one all who were within her pale, and to draw within the fold all who were still lying without? So that now wider operations demanded their anxious care.

The first question appeared to be how the Apostolic college should make known their mission to the Church at home, and should present their claims of Catholic authority to the laity and clergy in the United Kingdom. As early as the latter part of 1835¹ the word of prophecy came forth that each apostle should write down his idea of what ought to be said so as best to represent the new doctrines, and that the senior apostle, who in all cases was to act as their mouth, should gather up the contents of these papers into one document, which would thus be an adequate exponent of the united apostolic mind. Two testimonies were thus prepared, the first under the care of Mr. Cardale, the second² by the guiding hand of Mr.

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 24.

² *Appendix II.*

Perceval. The latter was delivered to King William IV. by Mr. Perceval, and by him and another¹ apostle, specially deputed, was "served" upon each of the privy councillors of the time. In legal fashion, the serving was supposed to be sufficient, all responsibility after that act resting with the recipient. The former was read at a meeting of the seven Churches on Christmas Day, 1835, and afterwards delivered not only to the archbishops and bishops of the Church of England, but to the clergy also of the towns, or in the neighbourhood of places, where Catholic Apostolic Churches were in operation. In the spring of 1836 an evangelist was chosen to visit, with a companion, the clergy of London for the purpose of delivering this book, which was presented to more than a hundred and fifty of them. In the country it was afterwards circulated by means of the ministers of the several churches. To the archbishop and to several of the bishops the presentation was made by a deputation consisting of two apostles.

But the apostolic college contemplated much more extensive operations, which were destined to exercise a most important influence over the whole character of their work.

It will be remembered that the Oxford Church movement was now in the full swing of its early and powerful progress. Amongst the chief principles which were brought out of comparative darkness and neglect was that the Church in any country, if it be really a Church, is but a branch of the one Holy Catholic and Apostolic

¹ His companion was, I believe, Mr. Drummond.

Church throughout the world, which has continued in unbroken existence from our Lord's time until now. The propagation of this truth, with an amount of learning and a force of keen logic which will make that movement for ever remarkable, must have affected, to an extent perhaps not realized by the leaders of Irvingite thought, a Community which was plainly feeling its way onwards to a goal which to them, as to Irving, only as yet "loomed through the mist." At all events, the dates nearly coincide. The Oxford professors and tutors were at work on the records and writings of the Church Catholic whilst the apostles were groping their way by the aid of dark hints and types of the Old Testament. The catholicity to which the latter lay claim, and which, so far as it goes, is by far the most instructive and the most valuable part of their system, evidently ensued as an after-thought. They began their building with Protestant bricks, and had constructed it half-way up before they were aware of Catholic quarries, and of the beautiful forms which stones extracted from them would readily assume. But though they have cased, to a considerable extent, the lower part of their edifice, they must not in candour conceal the under-structure of brick on which the entire fabric rests.

Induced then by Catholic tendencies, which we cannot, I think, but refer to the tracts and other writings that were now issuing continually from Oxford, the Apostles began to get ready their weapons for warfare abroad. Following the plan of Israelitish times, and in obedience to a prophetic utterance through Drummond, given

at the thirteenth meeting of the council in June, 1836, they divided the parts of the world over which they fancied that their efforts should be directed, into twelve "tribes," each of which was assigned to a particular apostle.

England was considered to be the leading tribe, the symbol of "the exercise of and submission to reasonable rule;" and was therefore called the tribe of Judah, the seat of apostolic government. So it was assigned to Mr. Cardale, the senior and the "pillar of the Apostles." Scotland seemed too small, and was therefore combined with Switzerland; inasmuch as both were mountainous countries, and seemed to set forth "dignified patriotism, though in small nations inhabiting poor countries." They were taken for the tribe of Benjamin, and were committed to the care of Mr. Drummond. Mr. Perceval took Italy, answering to the tribe of Manasseh, and exhibiting "civic virtues and faithful citizenship." France was assigned to Mr. Dalton, being supposed to symbolize, in common with Asher, "a yearning after fraternity." Prussia and North Germany, which were supposed with Simeon to show "quiet perseverance in accomplishing what is aimed at," were assigned to Mr. Carlyle. Austria, "as the historical head of Germany," and South Germany, being taken for Reuben, and being supposed to exhibit "an intense desire for a united Fatherland," were placed under the care of Mr. Woodhouse. Mr. Sitwell took Spain and Portugal, which were considered to be the patterns of "chivalrous adherence to an adopted purpose, undis-

heartened by practical difficulties." They answered to the tribe of Naphtali. Russia, as exhibiting a "persistent expectation of the fulfilment of what are supposed to be the decrees of Providence," was taken to represent the tribe of Dan, and was apportioned to Mr. W. Dow. Poland, with a subsequent addition of India, was given to Mr. Tudor, and was regarded as the representation of Ephraim, though it was "not easy to trace a resemblance." Mr. Mackenzie had Norway and Sweden, which, like Gad, were supposed to exhibit "honesty and passive courage in adhering to what they are, uninfluenced by the opinion of others." Denmark and Holland, with Belgium, were held to correspond to Issachar, having "contented industry" as their characteristic, and fell to the lot of Mr. King-Church. Ireland and Greece, denoted by the Emerald, were supposed to show "capacity for intellectual and bodily enjoyment," and were taken for the tribe of Zebulon, and were assigned to Mr. Armstrong. The United States of America were supposed to be included in their ancestral tribe of Judah, and were therefore under the control of Mr. Cardale. He was helped generally in America by Mr. Woodhouse. The area of the tribes was supposed to be co-extensive with Christendom, but not with the nations of the world.

This theory of Christian tribes answering to the twelve tribes of Israel was in great measure constructed out of Mosaic arrangements. The tribes in the wilderness, as will be remembered, were divided into four companies, which encamped to the East, South, West, and North of the Holy Tabernacle. And the breast-plate of

the High-priest had twelve precious stones, corresponding to the twelve tribes. Accordingly, the Sardius, Emerald, and Topaz, were supposed to denote respectively England and Judah, Ireland Greece and Zebulon, Denmark Holland Belgium and Issachar. In the second division, the Carbuncle, Sapphire, and Diamond or Chrysolite, represented Austria and Reuben, Prussia and Simeon, the Scandinavian Peninsula and Gad. Thirdly, the Ligure, Agate, and Amethyst, were thought to stand for Poland and Ephraim, Italy and Manasseh, Scotland Switzerland and Benjamin. Lastly, Russia and Dan, France and Asher, Spain Portugal and Naphtali, were respectively signified, as was thought, by the Beryl, Onyx, and Jasper.¹

Meanwhile the apostles had been hard at work upon a general testimony, made up from the other two, and intended for delivery to the great Catholic authorities upon the continent of Europe. They were taught that first of all "God would address His people through their legitimate heads, because He would not slur over His own ordinances, nor interfere with His own principles." In case the lawful authorities in any land should turn a deaf ear, then they had the analogy of the parable of the supper for going into the highways and hedges, and for addressing themselves to the people without exception, whose rulers were neglectful of their duty.² The apostles were therefore to go forth armed with this elaborate document,³

¹ Boase's *Physical a part of Theological Science*, 1870, pp. 97—105. I do not know how far the theory was developed at first. It is not yet asserted positively.

² *Chronicle*, p. 25.

³ *Appendix I.*

which set forth their claims and credentials, and in most carefully-drawn language called upon all people to receive them. It was printed in English, French, German, and Latin.¹ Their plan of proceedings was also laid out more in detail before them. "A glorious consummation of this purpose of grace towards Christendom was shown, as it were, in prophetic vision."² The seventh chapter of Numbers, in which are related the offerings made by all the tribes of Israel to the tabernacle, was declared to set forth "the organization of a perfect Church in every tribe, with its full complement of ministers and people of every class, ordinances of worship, spiritual gifts and graces." The model had been exhibited, it will be remembered, in the royal tribe of Judah. Here was the promise of a twelve-fold repetition.

In order that each apostle might be aided in his arduous task, three assistants were assigned him, a prophet, evangelist, and pastor, who were all chosen by himself. These were to act as the heads of those respective ministries in each tribe, so that all the prophets of the tribe should be under the prophet with the apostle, the evangelists under the evangelist, and the pastor with the apostle should head the pastors in that particular tribe.

In these preparations and in the work at home, and doubtless in the study also of the history, habits, and languages of the countries which had been severally assigned to them, the apostles passed the latter half of

¹ *Restoration of Apostles, &c.*, by George C. Boase. Dundee, 1867. For the English version, see *Appendix*.

² Norton's *Restoration*, p. 157.

1836 and the year 1837. The work was a grand one, the idea really magnificent; but, as the time for grappling with it approached, the apostles must have felt that meetings with one another in the modest chapter-house of their "cathedral," and day-dreams of wondrous results in the congenial home of Albury, were very different from laborious attempts to convert foreign nations; that the steps to success were hard to discover and to surmount; and that a vast responsibility was laid upon each of them, to which their powers of intellect and previous training were glaringly unequal. No wonder then, if they secretly shrank from the task. But the time came, at the beginning of 1838, when they must go forward. Then, by the test of stubborn facts and actual results, it would be made evident whether the power of the Holy Ghost was really with them, or they had been entrapped by a mere semblance of the truth. The travels and successes of St. Paul and of the other early apostles afforded a parallel. Were there to be signs and wonders—if not miracles, yet at least the convincing argument of the conversion of multitudes, the organization of all the new tribes after the pattern of the "tribe of Judah," the acknowledgment of apostolic rule, a striking advance of true Christianity, at least amongst numbers of recognized elect, and an assemblage which could not be gainsaid of people prepared for the Lord at His coming?

CHAPTER X.

APOSTOLIC JOURNEYS.

WHEN the apostles separated and started upon their several journeys, early in 1838, to visit their tribes, they were directed to return home and meet together upon the ensuing Christmas Day, for it was calculated that the mystical number of 1260 days would have exactly elapsed by that time.

Ten of them went out. Mr. Cardale, as apostle of the tribe of Judah, remained at home to overlook his tribe, and as senior apostle to be a centre of communication between the dispersed wanderers, and to be at hand to summon all together in the event of there being any special need for their twelvefold authority. Mr. Tudor also appears to have stayed with him, since we are told in the records of "certain remaining at home to conduct the affairs of the Church," and there is no mention of Poland or India, which together were apportioned to him, in the accounts given of places visited. Besides these, Mr. Armstrong was not far off in Ireland, except when he was in Greece, and could transact part of the business of his tribe in England, and Mr. Drummond was hovering between Switzerland and Scotland.

The directions given to the apostles upon their travels comprised mainly three heads of labour.

They were first of all "to spy out the land." Under this expression, which suggests the idea of the tribes proceeding to their inheritance rather than of the leaders going amongst their wandering or deluded tribes-men, was included a complete enquiry into the habits and customs of the countries visited. The state of their religion, such doctrines and rites as prevailed amongst them, the chief features in their character, how far they would be likely to receive the new tenets sought to be impressed upon them, and the best manner of conveying to them those tenets, were to form essential parts of this head of the preliminary enquiry.

Secondly, the apostle in each case was to "dig for gold." The meaning of this latter expression was that in "all parts of the Church there is a remnant of truth, often hidden and buried under the rubbish of human doctrines and traditions, like pure gold in the bowels of the earth ; and that these apostles, who thus went forth into the lands of Christendom, should make themselves acquainted with their spiritual condition, and should search after everything, whether in doctrine or in practice, which savoured of the truth of God ; and that all these things should be submitted to the college of apostles when they met again, to be by them considered and weighed and sifted, in order that everything good in all Christendom might find its proper place in the worship and service of the house of God." These words from the authorized "Narrative" in private circulation amongst

Irvingites,¹ explain the most important and a very instructive part of what was effected by the apostles. Their opportunity in thus going forth into all the chief parts of Christendom was a grand one for ascertaining what were the doctrines and modes of worship in which the several parts of the divided Church were most likely to coalesce. And it is hard to conceive how these men could have performed this part of their task better than by endeavouring to discover the common truths which were accepted and cherished by each national Branch of the Catholic Church. The combination of these truths afterwards into one system, even if it were overlaid by the peculiar tenets of the men who combined them, has afforded nevertheless a valuable lesson to those who would work towards healing the breaches made by the enemy of souls in the Catholic Church of Christ.

Thirdly, each apostle was to seek for "gates of entrance." Under this figure those people were supposed to be described who might be inclined to receive the missionaries, and to introduce them to their friends and countrymen, and who might afterwards themselves become instruments of spreading the faith amongst others.

A caution was added, which appears to strike a discordant note in this grand enterprise. The apostles were reminded that they went only in the character of "private individuals, as learners and observers rather than teachers." While this is creditable to the modesty of private gentlemen, such an attitude is hardly consistent with the character of messengers of God, accredited

¹ *Narrative*, p. 57.

with a mission direct from heaven and conveyed through the voice of the Holy Ghost, and sent, as they supposed, to exercise authority over the whole Church, to prepare all Christians for the Advent of the Lord, and to save souls on a large scale from the coming tribulation. They went forth indeed in quiet privacy, mixing with the numbers of travellers, who even in those days, before railways were constructed over Europe, were continually passing and repassing from British shores. Instruction was given to them first to present the testimony to the rulers of the land, and in the event of its not being followed to proceed regularly in their assaults upon the people. Nothing of a striking, or sensational, or strangely exciting nature was to be attempted. Such a course would be alien to their ordinary habits, and unsuitable to their general position in society.

No doubt the difficulties in front of them were extremely formidable. Here were ten or eleven ordinary English gentlemen, whose previous training and education, except during the year or two immediately preceding, had not been such as to qualify them especially for their great purpose. They started, too, upon their enterprise at a time when, on account of the long war with Napoleon, Englishmen were more than at most other periods of their history unacquainted with the habits and character of foreign nations. If it be said that the first twelve were unlearned men, we must remember that the history of their time reveals unprecedented opportunities of communication with other parts of the world; that the Jews themselves

were scattered in small colonies over the parts which the Apostles would visit; and that the established prevalence of the Greek language presented a medium for addressing those whom they sought to convert. But in 1838, English was far less generally understood in foreign lands than it is now. Yet we find twelve English-speaking men, with no linguistic talents of any remarkable kind at all, and confessedly not assisted in this direction by their arrogated gift of tongues, going out to persuade and rule over people who claimed to be better Christians than they were themselves. If it be replied that Almighty God often makes use of weak means to confound the strong, we cannot but bear in mind that the parallels supplied by His well-known operations do not present such a disparity between means and ends, between human instruments and achievements in view, as we are called upon here to acknowledge. If the Church were really to be welded together, how much more effectually would this most admirable design have been accomplished if the twelve had been chosen from different nations than if they were taken only from one, to say nothing of the question whether the men chosen, however estimable or blameless, were the best Englishmen for the purpose who could have been found.

However they set forth, each with an ordained minister as his attendant. They were armed with the "testimony," which was addressed to all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities in Christendom: but particular arrangements were made for delivering it to three amongst those authorities, who seemed to the apostles to have special

pre-eminence ; and, as usual, symbolical reasons pointed to their selection. As our Lord is the "Melchisedec, King, and Priest," so to Catholic Apostolic eyes three of the then rulers in Europe represented in their official standing His threefold office, though they exhibited it only in perversion. The application of this principle is given best in the words of their authorized narrative.¹

"The Pope, as the representative of the Lord Jesus, the only King and Priest, the Priest upon His throne, in which character he stands, officially at least, as the usurper and forestaller of the dignity and glory of the kingdom of Christ, for in His kingdom alone can the kingly and priestly offices be united in one person, was to receive the testimony first ; and to him it was to be delivered by the apostle second in his call to that office, in company with the apostle who had been designated for Italy.

"The Emperor of Austria (the successor to the German emperors, the holders of the authority derived from ancient times), the representative in Christendom of the universal empire of the Roman Cæsars, of autocratic, irresponsible sovereignty by Divine right, in which character he stands, officially at least, as the usurper and forestaller of the dignity and glory of the kingdom, for the claim to universal sovereignty and to irresponsible power belongs alone to the Lord Himself, was to receive the testimony next ; and to him it was to be delivered by the same apostle, in company with the apostle for South Germany.

¹ *Narrative*, p. 59.

“The King of the French, as the representative of limited constitutional monarchy, the only form of monarchy suited to this dispensation, degenerating in its present form into a monarchy not based upon the hereditary right of the first-born, or upon ancient law regulating the succession to the throne, but resting its claim to authority, the royal authority of the Lord Jesus, upon the vote, gift, and nomination of the people (embodying the wicked, blasphemous doctrine that all power is from the people), in which character of king by the choice of the people the present king stands, officially at least, as an usurper and forestaller of the dignity and glory of the kingdom,—for the king by the choice (though not by the power) of the people is none other but the spiritual David, of whom it is said, ‘Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing,’ and to Him every creature shall give glory (Rev. v. 12—14),—he was to receive the testimony thirdly, by the hand of the same apostle, in company with the apostle who had been designated for France.”

This testimony, however, was by Drummond and Perceval not actually delivered into the hands of the Pope, then Gregory XVI., but was “left with Cardinal Acton in July, 1838, who in the same month delivered it to the secretary of memorials for the Roman Pontiff.” In the ensuing September Drummond and Woodhouse placed a copy in the hands of Prince Metternich for the Emperor of Austria. Whether Drummond and Dalton were successful, or how far they were successful, in their

presentation to Louis Philippe, is not recorded. But the testimony was delivered to other bishops and kings in this and the succeeding year as the apostles found opportunity.

They returned, according to the orders given them at their departure, by Christmas, 1838, when they all met at Albury, and communicated to one another the information which they had acquired, and took common counsel upon the affairs of the Church. The result was that they now looked upon ecclesiastical matters with minds much enlarged, and with less tendency to limit their view of the Church to their own immediate surroundings. And though their appreciation of the difficulties in front of them must have increased, and some, at least, of them must have felt how utterly inadequate they were to cope with the massive indifference with which their claims were treated, yet they returned after Christmas to their labours strengthened and encouraged by their meeting in a congenial sphere.

From the scanty information which is given about any success which they met with amongst the nations to whom they were sent, it seems clear that they effected but little in the period during which they were away, which, deducting the time that they were in England at the end of 1838 and the beginning of 1839, included about two years. The Members of the Body at the present time admit that they can make no real way in Roman Catholic countries. In Switzerland some adhesions were won; in France a few were attracted; but the chief success occurred in North Germany, though here it was

more in the nature of preparation for after results than inclusive of any results at the time then present. Dr. Thiersch, the learned writer on Church history, was afterwards one of their best known converts. And in America, where Mr. Woodhouse went in the last year instead of into Austria, considerable way was made. But as far as gaining converts was concerned, Spain and Portugal and Italy were completely closed against them. The apostle to Spain, Mr. Sitwell, admitted that "in the state of the country it was very little indeed that he could do. The only thing that was open to him was to take up his abode at an inn, keep his eye upon the various persons who might enter, and see if there were any who were likely to listen to his words. Generally they were shy and distrustful, but when he gained their confidence they often told him that they were not Catholics but Protestants, a Protestantism, however, not of a very definite or intelligible kind."¹ It is believed that no Spaniards at all have ever really received these tenets. So, too, the results, as far as conversion is concerned, in Austria, Greece, Russia, and Poland have been inappreciable. Not very much more can be said for Denmark, Sweden, and Norway.

There was a striking contrast, too, between the first Apostles in their evangelizing labours and these twelve Englishmen. To nearly all of the names of the former the noble term martyr is affixed: and besides this, the history of their toils and struggles is full of earnest, bold,

¹ *The Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism): *its Pretensions and Claims*, &c., by a late member, many years minister in the body. London: G. J. Stevenson, 1872, p. 61.

and unflinching endeavours, which brought upon them persecutions and sufferings that might have bestowed the honourable title of confessor over and over again upon the same apostle. Doubtless times and customs are altered. But the spirit of restraining what was deemed to be unauthorized and impertinent interference with the form of religion established in any country by measures which might be classed under the name of persecution, had not so completely died out in 1838 but that some disagreeable consequences of bold and unflinching zeal might have been experienced. In the Austria, Italy, and Spain of those days there were prisons whose recesses were known by heretics. Yet we never hear of any collisions with the ruling powers in the countries visited, or of any remarkable opposition that was encountered by these men.

The Apostles were quiet and orderly men, who respected "the powers that be," and were careful to give no unnecessary offence. They went in and out almost unseen and unknown. Whilst we honour and respect them for so doing, we are nevertheless constrained to remark the inconsistency presented by such tame advocacy with the high pretensions with which they were so solemnly accredited, and the tremendous consequences in eternity that were supposed to depend upon receiving or rejecting them.

But their study and enquiry were not barren of fruit of another kind. From a candid examination of forms of worship and modes of life differing from those in the midst of which their lives had previously

been spent, they discovered that there were forms of excellence of which they were before unaware. From coming into contact with people who in various parts of Christendom held the same fundamental doctrines, but expressed and applied and interpreted them in dissimilar methods of thought and action, according to their national characteristics, or their special antecedents in past history, these men were enabled to lay aside not a little of that insular narrow-mindedness and prejudice which in those days especially marked Englishmen generally, and more than all, strong English Protestants. They found and reported on their return that in the Communion of Rome and Greece true religion was to be met with as well as in Protestant countries, where they had learnt before to imagine that it flourished exclusively. They saw that under richer ceremony and more gorgeous observances faith and love might grow, as well as amidst the severe simplicity which had come down from the Reformation. They learnt that some of the points on which great stress was laid in those days within the British dominions were of no more real importance and weight than others of a diverse nature which were cherished in other lands. "Their part was to sift the wheat from the chaff, to assay the metal, and, purging away the alloy, to bring home the gold to be stamped for circulation in the kingdom of God."¹

They were assisted and directed in these enquiries by the grand object which lay before them. Their great question was how to break down the barriers which

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 27.

separated the great divisions of the Church from one another, and make them all into one homogeneous, compact whole. Such an object could only be attained by finding some common ground on which all could meet. Hence they would naturally treasure all that was sound and good, and cast away all that was eccentric, or generally peculiar, or contained incongruous elements. Above all things they had before their minds the project of devising and publishing some authorized form of worship which would be free from the errors, and contain the perfections, of all. Such a book must be grounded upon Holy Scripture, and must be mainly compounded from the forms of prayer used by the undivided Church before she had been broken up by divisions.

Before they left home they learnt from their Biblical investigations the high place which should be occupied in Christian worship by the Sacrament of the Holy Eucharist. They studied deeply, as has been told, the details of the ceremonial law of Moses, as given in the Pentateuch. The continual sacrifices described and enjoined by the Jewish law-giver constituted daily representations of the Lord's Sacrifice of Himself in anticipation of that one great Sacrifice for sin. Hence, if any men came to the conclusion that the main principles of the Jewish law were everlasting, although the outward forms of those sacrifices were done away, they must perforce be led to the further inference that their application would be found in that Rite, if such there were, which related to the Lord's offering after that offering had been made. But not only did He Himself order the

consecrated Bread to be broken and eaten, and the consecrated Wine to be drunk in remembrance of Him, but St. Paul also adds, "As often as ye eat this Bread and drink this Cup, ye do show the Lord's death till He come." Accordingly, from the remarkable prominence given to sacrifices under the Jewish law, the apostles learnt the leading position which belongs of right to the Holy Eucharist in Christian worship.

Coming then at this time to the examination of modes of worship adopted by other nations, they were at once struck with the eminent place assigned to this Sacrament, both amongst those several nations who were in communion with the See of Rome, and in all parts of the Greek Church. Doubtless the reverse was the practice amongst foreign Protestants, even including, to a certain extent, Lutheran congregations. The question occurred which of the two were right? Was worship to consist, according to Protestant examples, chiefly of common prayer, either in extemporaneous or in set forms, with reading of the Bible, and with sermons as the most prominent feature, the Holy Sacrament only occurring occasionally, and then more as a solemn means of communion amongst the members of the congregation, and a renewal of the covenant with Almighty God, than as the highest act of adoration? Or else was this great Sacrament the authorized memorial of the Lord's Sacrifice, the representation upon earth of His continual presentation of His offering in heaven, and the great and constant act of worship in the Church, as the Jewish sacrifices were in the temple before the Lord came?

They found that these questions were answered by the results of their examination at Albury. But they had also another reason for adopting in the main the Catholic side of the question instead of the Protestant allegation. They were led back into the consideration of early Liturgies. There they found that the remains of the first ages of the Church, whilst she was yet one and undivided, witnessed with no unfaltering voice to the conclusion to which they had been already directed. Liturgies, as is well known, are simply offices for the Holy Eucharist. No other services have come down to us from the earliest times of the Church. Ecclesiastical history shows that forms of common prayer grew up later, and that they always pre-supposed a previous offering of the Eucharistic rite, or else led up immediately to the celebration of that Sacrament. If deference is to be paid to the observances in the early Church, as far as we can know them, such is the lesson which, without question, we learn. And in a candid examination of differing modes of worship, it is hard to see how these men could have determined otherwise than they did.

They also observed many of the points of ceremonial which were in use, and brought home the account of them as material for their consultations. The idea for example of vestments, which were afterwards introduced, arose from these travels. One morning, when some of these missionaries were in a church in Rouen, they saw a priest come in duly habited for early mass. Upon this the prophet of the party cried out, "These are the vest-

ments which the Lord would have for His service, in which His priesthood should appear before Him to minister His holy rites in His presence." Similar particulars in worship were also noticed and treasured up, and afterwards recommended for adoption.

But at the same time they were careful to avoid the great error upon the subject of Eucharistic sacrifice to which Protestants have always strongly objected. They have protected themselves by carefully excluding any idea that the one Sacrifice of the Lord, offered once for all, is or can be renewed or repeated. Indeed, as a matter of fact, this glaring error, which has taken its rise in imputation and in fact from the ambiguity of the language which the Church of Rome has thought fit to employ upon this subject, is very far from being as prevalent as the fears of some people lead them to imagine. But be that as it may, the members of the Catholic Apostolic Church have effectually prevented any such notion being imputed to them with any show of justice. The apostles took this to be the chaff, and the doctrine itself to be the pure grain.

Whilst they were engaged in these investigations and in proselytizing, as far as circumstances would allow, they were summoned back by the senior apostle, in consequence of troubles at home. Messages were sent them as early as the end of 1839. It was at last settled that they were to re-assemble in June, 1840, which they did, as directed, just five years after their formal separation, and a little more than two years after they set forth on their respective journeys.

Such was the great effort, and so it ended, of evangelizing in a Catholic Apostolic sense the whole of Christendom, for it was never afterwards renewed upon the same scale. The principles of the Community demanded imperatively that such an attempt should be made. And, after it was projected and settled, it appears to have been conducted with much propriety, with general good judgment, and with a careful attention to the force of the agency in operation. There appears to be no reason to suspect any want of zeal, or of personal devotion to the cause. All was probably effected that, taking into account the means at command, could have been effected. Sensational measures, in opposition to the laws or customs of the several countries visited, would plainly have been useless, as well as inconsistent with the whole course and tendency of the religion of the Body. But then, this estimate, which appears irrefragably sound, only makes the vast chasm between the means at hand and the grand end in front to yawn the wider.

Had not the apostles, in the spirit of grandeur inherited from Irving, perhaps the most signal specimen of the devotees of panaceas who abounded in the earlier half of the present century, proposed to themselves the impossible?

CHAPTER XI.

DISRUPTION OF THE TWELVE-FOLD UNITY.

WHEN Agesilaus was at the height of his success in Asia, and was on the point of preparing for a new and larger expedition, which would probably have weakened so far the Persian empire as to have paved the way for its immediate overthrow, he was recalled by the Spartan government, in consequence of intestine troubles in Greece. The leadership of Sparta was disputed by a combination of allies against her rule. The pain caused to Agesilaus was extreme, and has been described in strong terms by his friend and adviser, Xenophon the historian. For the grandest career that had ever yet lain before a Greek was almost within his reach. He seemed to be the predestined conqueror of Persia with a Grecian force. Nevertheless, brought up a Spartan in habits of obedience, he paltered not with duty. Unlike Nelson before Copenhagen, he yielded up his prize, and returned home to maintain the position of his country. But what appeared to be his task was bequeathed to Alexander the Great, who, as soon as the Grecian power was consolidated under the Macedonians, took up Agesilaus' work, and carried it on to conspicuous fulfilment.

When news came from home to the scattered Apostles that disagreement was spreading which threatened serious evil to the welfare of the whole body, and destruction to the ascendancy of the twelve, and when orders were given for their return, there seems to have been the same unhesitating compliance as was rendered by Agesilaus, though the meeting was postponed till the ensuing June. The first summons was sent about the end of 1839;¹ they were finally recalled in March.² Here the parallel ceases. We can hardly suppose that a prospect like that which was drawn before the eyes of Agesilaus presented itself to the imagination of the most sanguine amongst the twelve, or that the same poignant disappointment was felt in exchanging glorious labour abroad for the ignoble sweets of home. No one like Alexander has as yet taken up their work. Indeed, it is more than doubtful whether the earlier principles of the body could, without being shaken to their very foundation, allow any one to fulfil what the apostles have failed to accomplish.

It will be necessary to go back a little in the history in order to show how the dispute arose which caused the return of the Apostles. Whilst the Apostles were away, the Council of Zion³ had met regularly, Mr. Cardale presiding with any of his colleagues who happened to be with him. The chief affairs of the body were of course

¹ *Narrative*, p. 80.

² *Chronicle*, p. 30.

³ At the present day this name—"the Council of Zion"—is reserved for the Council of the Universal Church, as opposed to the Council of the tribe of Judah, the first of which is expected to meet after our Lord's arrival. This is an instance of the continual change which takes place in Irvingism. Yet the arrangements of each period are supposed to possess Divine authority.

discussed there; and the prophets especially, who are supposed to be the vehicles of messages sent from heaven, were in full force and possessed of vast influence.

The development of doctrine, which had been continued up to the time when the Apostles left home, was, as was natural, continued by those who remained behind and attended the common council. The course taken led them into a more definite and detailed apprehension of what may be considered the most distinctive tenet of the sect, viz., the belief in a four-fold ministry.

This idea is grounded chiefly upon the well-known passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians,¹ where the Apostle Paul says that our Lord, when He ascended up on high, "gave some apostles, and some prophets, and some evangelists, and some pastors and teachers." With this the parallel passage in the First Epistle² to the Corinthians is compared, where it is said that "God set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." The real value in argument of these passages will be discussed afterwards. Meanwhile, I will only remark that the two passages do not coincide in the way in which they would be expected to do, if a doctrine so exact, so well-known to St. Paul, and so important as that of the four-fold ministry if true would be, were being therein declared by him.

From these passages and from the instances in the

¹ Eph. iv. 11.

² 1 Cor. xii. 28.

Bible where the number four is found, as has been mentioned above,—such as the four cherubims¹ and each with four faces of the prophet Ezekiel, the four beasts of the Revelation,² the four-square encampment of the children of Israel in the wilderness,³ and various fanciful applications of the number,—the members of the Body inferred that it was an essential part of the constitution of the Church that there should be four orders of ministers. There were to be, first, apostles, who should regulate and order the affairs of the Church. They are to be directly appointed from above,—“neither of man nor by man,”—and are supposed to have the power of appointing all the other ministers in God's Church. Next come prophets, who are inspired directly from heaven, but are appointed and ordained by the apostles. In all ordinations the call is made by the prophet, the appointment by imposition of hands is conferred by the apostle. Third in order are evangelists, whose duty is to bring the glad tidings of salvation to those who are outside of the Church. Lastly come pastors, who are employed in taking care of the souls of those who are in full communion with the body; so that when the evangelist has sufficiently instructed any one who requires information, he hands his disciple over to the pastor for further attention and care.

The Lord Jesus Christ was declared to be the sole great Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist, and Pastor, who ruled His Church through the first order, enlightened it through the second, educated those who needed education by

¹ Ezek. i., x.

³ Num. ii.

² Rev. iv.

means of evangelists, and watched for their souls through His pastors.

This primary tenet was being brought out in various aspects during the absence of the apostles, and at last gave opportunity for much controversy. For if the Church were thus ruled and conducted by four different ministries, in what relations to one another did the four severally stand? Was government to be effected by the highest of the four, or by all conjointly together? Were the Apostles the ultimate source of authority upon earth, or the Council?

“Out of sight, out of mind.” In their rudimentary stage of organization, the acting power for the time very naturally seemed to be of right the ruling power. Members of the council examined the history of the Church, and found that in all ages Councils, whensoever they were assembled, exercised supreme authority in the Church. Hence it was urged, both with the claim of prophecy and with strong show of argument, that the apostles ought to execute the decrees of the council, instead of the former being the real judges of doctrine and action, and the sole arbiters in any matter brought to the consideration of the council. It is clear, not only that the foundations of the authority of the apostles were being sapped, but that the general principles of the community were in great peril. Doubtless, such success had not attended the operations of the apostles abroad as had been anticipated, and this naturally involved a loss of prestige at home. But the entire fortunes of the Body had really been staked to their full value upon the twelve,

and it was too late now to withdraw from the consequences of that act. If "the Catholic Apostolic Church"—which name had been assumed "in obedience to a voice of prophecy forbidding any other"¹—derived its second qualifying appellative from the restoration of apostles,—if the Lord set "first apostles, secondarily prophets," according to Catholic Apostolic acceptation of the passage, and if the twelve had already exercised supreme authority, inasmuch as all decisions in the council, according to its authoritative course of proceedings, had been made solely and exclusively by them,—then it is evident that one of the main characteristics of their system was in danger, and that the symmetry and proportions of the whole would be seriously altered if the authority of the apostles were limited or modified.

This danger was fully appreciated by Mr. Cardale, who, finding that his own efforts and those of the apostles who remained with him were insufficient to stem the tide, summoned all the twelve, in order that by their united strength some plan might be devised and carried through which might obviate the impending danger.

Clouds, indeed, seemed to be gathering very ominously. Not only the prophets were virtually in rebellion—the difficulty of keeping them in order might have been expected, and has been illustrated in this history, as far as it has hitherto been detailed. The angels of the

¹ Norton's *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 159. It has been stated to me in high quarters in the Body that they adopt no particular name beyond those in the creeds. If so, how could Dr. Norton make the assertion which I have quoted? And which of them is prepared to repudiate the Church in Gordon Square?

Churches also—mostly men of less impulsive nature than prophets and prophetesses—joined in the movement. Indeed a formidable uprising revealed itself, and joint counsels were absolutely necessary.

In June, therefore, the twelve met together in solemn conclave. A manly and frank straightforwardness seems to have marked their proceedings at this trying epoch in the history of the Catholic Apostolic Church. Their first measure was to request "all the angels and ministers of the Universal Church," *i. e.* of their own communion, to lay before the united Apostolate any burdens or troubles which they experienced, and to state as fully and freely as they could their own views and opinions about the relative positions which they thought the apostles and the several other ministers ought to occupy. A large number of communications were submitted to them discussing the place of apostles in the Church, and treating generally of the order and relations of the different ranks in the four-fold ministry. These documents, representing the case amply from the side of the remonstrants, and embodying general information, were carefully considered by the assembled twelve.

In order to estimate the claims of the remonstrants, we must bear in mind the great expectations which had been aroused by the prospect of the restoration of apostles. They had been anxiously expected for a long time.¹ The

¹ "It will not be long," said Irving, at his trial before the Presbytery in London, early in 1832, "until the Lord, who hath sealed prophets, will also seal apostles and evangelists, and every other gift in His Church. This is the thing which we expected, which we prayed for privately and publicly, and we cried unto the Lord for apostles and prophets, evangelists, pastors,

apostles were separated upon the day which had been pointed out as a day of wonders—the last of 1260—for some years in various prophetic utterances. Several disappointments had fallen on the body. No baptism by fire had been vouchsafed. Irving, who had been destined as a great prophet and evangelist at least, if not an apostle, who was to work wonders of conversion in Scotland, like Mr. Armstrong in Ireland, had died. Miracles such as to convince the world had not been given. All hopes had been centred upon the apostles, and these had turned out to be only estimable and earnest men of an ordinary type, not distinguished by any extraordinary gifts or powers, or attended by any special heavenly interposition; and more than all, no visible success had attended their grand evangelizing effort. What had they to show in the way of credentials of authority or title to supreme rule?

On the other hand, the prophets had, as was believed, exercised spiritual gifts of an undoubted Heavenly origin. They were the vehicles of Divine speech. They had credentials evident to and acknowledged by all, besides which, ecclesiastical history witnessed in century after century, and by decisions upon decisions, to the super-eminent authority of Councils in the Church. The apostles and elders came together at Jerusalem to consider the matter laid before them by St. Paul and St. Barnabas, not the apostles alone. The council, therefore, was supreme, not the present twelve, who were taking too much upon them.

and teachers, anointed with the Holy Ghost, the gift of Jesus."—*Observations, &c.*, by David Ker, Esq. Bosworth, 1863, p. 6.

All these and such-like allegations were carefully weighed by the twelve, and they arrived at a conclusion in which at the moment they were unanimous. A document was drawn up conjointly, in which they set forth at length the place and standing of the apostles in the Church. The passages in St. Paul's writings, upon which the appointment of the four-fold ministry was based, placed the apostles definitely first. "First apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then"¹ all the rest. The proposed plan must issue in an inversion of this order, making prophets virtually the chief rulers. Moreover, witness was borne in the contrary direction by the rule actually exercised by the first twelve in the newly-founded Church. Did not false doctrine, disagreements, schisms, and finally the bursting asunder of the One Catholic Church into vast and lesser fragments, arise from the want of apostles, who constituted the grand means specially devised by the great Head of the Church for welding together the entire body and keeping it united? The very regulations which governed the constitution and action of the council, which was now sought to be made supreme, and the precedents since apostles were appointed in answer to unanimous prayer, showed the ruling position which it was their duty to occupy. Greatly, indeed, did the apostles themselves feel their own personal inadequacy to the fulfilment of their arduous duties. They had not sought the post: it was laid upon them by the Lord's own appointment, and they could not shrink from it without

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28; cf. Eph. iv. 11.

unfaithfulness, and hazard to themselves and to the Church. Let the angels and prophets take care that they were not insidiously led away by the spirit of Diotrophes, of whom St. John¹ spoke in such severe terms. For themselves, being deeply convinced of the necessity of strong government over the Church of God, to be exercised by those whom He had actually called and separated for that very purpose, they would continue to manage the Church, if it were so desired, as they had done hitherto, in humble dependence upon the Grace of God, who would overrule their infirmities. But upon no other terms, and on no other principles than what they laid down, could they consent to undertake the responsibility of the care and guidance of the Churches.

This document also included an elaborate exposition of the bearing of the apostles' office upon the other ministries, and upon the rest of the Church. It was delivered in London in August to the angels and to the ministers associated with the apostles, and further measures were also adopted. A serious crisis had arisen, and the apostles felt that they must continue firm to those principles and doctrines of truth of which, as they supposed, they were the only depositories and declarers. The time had arrived when, as they thought, they must be ready to sacrifice themselves for the sake of saving the Church.

Whether from their own high reputation, or from the firmness of the moral stand which they made, or owing to the high social influence of at least one of their

¹ 3 John 9.

number, all opposition ceased in course of time. But in September they had reason to go so far as to close the Council, which had continued to hold regular monthly meetings even when Mr. Cardale was the only apostle who could attend. The Council has never met regularly again in its pristine glory; but in 1847 the meeting of the seven Churches was renewed every month; and now continues. There is also a conference of the angels of the seven Churches, and of other angels, under the apostle. At the period of which we are now treating the meetings seemed to give such occasion for discord and difference, and to the claim of antagonist authority, that the apostles deemed it the safer course to supersede it altogether for the present. When it met afterwards it met as the Council of the tribe of Judah, with shorn privileges and with humbler aims. The old name of the Council of Zion is not now in use.

Besides the angels and prophets at home, the ministers who were especially associated with the apostles, and who were the sole media of communication on official matters between the apostles and the several tribes in the Church, joined prominently in this virtual rebellion. The apostles therefore dispensed with their services, adding the further notice that until they had put away "all erroneous notions regarding the discernment and true meaning of the words which had been spoken by the prophets" no confidence could be reposed in them.

Thus a strong blow was struck at the prophetical utterances, which were the real source of the dispute.

It will be remembered that the utterances of the prophets had been a frequent cause of trouble. Very soon after the supposed restoration of spiritual gifts, some of the speeches uttered were so grossly objectionable that they were ascribed to the direct operation of Satanic agency. It was more than Irving could do to control the prophets, who seemed to "lead him a life." More than once the strong hands of the two senior apostles were uplifted at them, and now a wholesale condemnation was passed over numerous "words of prophecy."

A special theory was advanced to account for this treatment. "By much experience, by light of prophecy, and by the instruction contained in the Epistle to the Corinthians, the apostles had learned that in the prophetic ministry, as in all other forms of ministry, the purity of the word spoken depended upon the inward clearness of the individual, and that those whom the Lord was using ought to put away all filthiness of flesh and spirit. And they were also shown that when a prophet or other minister was in an unclean state no use could be made of his word or ministry; for when the inside of the vessel is unclean, whatsoever is put into it is polluted. And 'who can cleanse dirty water?' As a general rule, they also discerned that errors on points of faith and doctrine abiding in a prophet's mind must necessarily hinder him from prophesying according to the analogy of faith, and that the prophet's case formed no exception to this general rule."¹

That is to say, prophetic inspiration is governed by

¹ *Narrative*, p. 82, note. *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 58.

the same laws as all other human action in the Church : it is not *sui generis*, regulated by principles peculiar to itself. Such prophesying plainly not only moves upon a level much lower than all ordinary notions would dictate, but occupies a position greatly inferior to the representations of the recognized writers upon prophecy. Some one must decide, as occasion arises, whether the prophet is clean or unclean. This power of decision is claimed for the apostles. They have to determine in all cases, doubtful and delicate cases included, no less a question than whether it is the voice of God that speaks, or the voice of an "unclean" man.

What a momentous question ! We can easily imagine how exactly, upon this theory, human utterances are apt to simulate all the features of Divine speech ; what impalpable and microscopic differences, undiscovered and undiscoverable by the utterer, must separate the Heavenly from the earthly ; and lastly—an inference which has been verified over and over again in the history of these religionists—what a store of dissatisfaction and disagreement is laid for future experience. The further root-question is forced upon our minds, Do not these ingenious but necessary expedients show that all this so-called prophecy is of human origin ?

The effect of these strong measures was that the ministers and angels of the Churches gave way, and acquiesced in the justice of the claims set up by the apostles. There was a severe struggle, but in course of time, when the principles and grounds of the apostles' action were more amply elucidated, the error, as it was

conceived, was wholly cast out. The dispute had, at one time, well-nigh wrecked the vessel. One party was now shown in words of prophecy how they had unconsciously imitated Aaron in caballing when Moses was away; and the other was warned by the fate of Moses held out before them not to call the Lord's people rebels, or "speak unadvisedly with their lips."

But this struggle was productive of a result on the side of the apostles which to an outsider seems to be destructive of their great claims. Mr. Mackenzie, the apostle for Sweden and Norway, after these measures were adopted, withdrew from all further participation in the counsels and acts of his colleagues. It appears that he went along with them in their resolutions, and assented to all their measures, but when he came to reflect upon what had passed, he was unable to sustain the *rôle* of an apostle any longer. The reality seemed to him to be so different from the expectation. So little was effected, when so much was needed. Nor can we wonder at his uneasiness. The attempt of converting the Universal Church seems to be not much better conceived as a whole than an endeavour to empty an inland sea with twelve ordinary pumps. Accordingly, Mackenzie intimated to his brethren that he could join them no longer, that he felt "misgivings and doubts as to the power or right of apostles to act as apostles in any way whatever, even towards those who fully recognized their calling and authority, until they had received a second Pentecostal endowment of power in supernatural manifestations, enabling them in all cases to act as moved by

the Holy Ghost, instead of acting as men enlightened by Him, and having the mind of Christ.”¹

Remonstrances were addressed to him, but without effect. At last he absolutely declined to hold any communication whatever with the other apostles upon the subject; so that he retired from the Apostolic College and never at all afterwards took any part in their deliberations or work.

From the words just quoted, which express the grounds of Mackenzie's withdrawal, it is clear that he had an over-mastering sense of his present unfitness to support the high responsibility which must rest upon an apostle, supposing there to be such in the Church of God. This feeling, too, of distrust and inadequacy included in his mind also his colleagues. In fact, they had taken, perhaps without realizing it themselves, a long step in advance. When they were first severally called they dared not act in any way without an express order authorizing such action, and conveyed through a prophet. After they were “separated” by the assembled body, they only acted in important cases as an unanimous Apostolic College, and in compliance with deliberations in the council, in which, if the voice of prophecy was heard, it received the utmost deference. Now, without any further “Pentecostal endowment of power in supernatural manifestations,” the apostles were cancelling a large group of prophecies, and were silencing the very men by whose utterances they as apostles had been called into existence.

¹ *Narrative*, p. 83. *Apostolic Lordship*, pp. 59, 60.

It is true that these high-handed measures were afterwards approved by the entire Body. And weight must also be conceded to the plea which was then put forward, and has been advanced ever since, that inspiration may be more reasonably presumed to belong to the whole Body, though given through individuals, than to single and independent members; and that, therefore, not only the employment of prophecy must be governed by general regulations, but that particular utterances must be universally or representatively acknowledged, in order to be stamped as amongst the true coinage: though it must be acknowledged that prophecy descends to a lower platform when this principle is received. But making due deduction for these claims, we still find that on this occasion the apostles took upon themselves, on a question of the first magnitude and relating to their own rank and office, to wipe out in one bold sweep numerous dicta, all converging to one point, and hitherto generally accepted as genuine prophecies, delivered by the voice of God. We cannot, therefore, wonder that one of them, upon reflection, withdrew his assent from the measures adopted by the twelve, and that he could not find in the credentials hitherto accepted by him authority to exercise such despotic sway.

Mackenzie's firm refusal to return to the college, strengthened by the close, on his part, of all negotiation upon the subject, caused his colleagues no little embarrassment. If doubt was thrown upon their united action by the actual withdrawal of one of the twelve; if, therefore, doubt was thrown upon measures adopted in their

twelve-fold unity, with how much more doubt must those measures be enveloped when they became the product of divided counsels? And the question assumed a much more serious aspect when they found that Mackenzie had made a final resolve, not only to dissent from the disputed resolutions, but to withdraw definitively from the Apostolic College till some much greater endowment with the gifts of the Holy Spirit were vouchsafed. Were all the previous utterances—which no one at all had ever questioned, in which the apostles were reminded over and over again of their twelve-fold unity, and the dissent of one was declared to be fatal to the valid action of the college, utterances which were taken by all for the very Voice of God—to go for nothing? Were these declarations which assented and upheld the dignity of the twelve, though their action was limited by their very dignity, to be included in the general cancelling and annulling which had befallen expressions issued against their authority?

The importance of this crisis can hardly be exaggerated. The only wonder is that no calm survey of the general failure of results in answering the high previous expectations was made, so as to lead to the one only conclusion open to an impartial reviewer. We cannot escape the inference that the apostles ought at this juncture either to have retired from their office or to have held it only temporarily, till such a manifestation from Heaven was given as could not be gainsayed. The entertainment of the gravest doubts, respecting the validity of their office, was now brought home to them.

If, in their unbroken twelve-fold unity, their efforts had fallen lamentably short of the success necessary for giving proof *a posteriori* of the reality of their mission, how could they expect in its disruption to improve their fortunes?

They followed the usual course of religious enthusiasts. Convinced that they had been really called and separated to the work, resting faith solely upon its implicitness, they shut their eyes to all objections and difficulties, and were afraid only of turning back. When they thus finally resolved to continue their agency as an eleven, now that they could no longer be the twelve, they took refuge in a prudent and well-considered expedient. They adopted means for informing the Churches of the circumstances which had occurred, and for enquiring whether they would still repose confidence in them in their "maimed and weakened" condition. They themselves, in opposition to Mackenzie, did not look for any fresh Pentecostal enlightenment. They were content to go on, carrying out, as far as circumstances would allow, the principles by which they had been previously guided, and trusting for their success to the Grace which in their present situation they hoped to receive from above.

Accordingly, either in person or by means of one of the ministers deputed by them, they visited all the Churches, and laid before the faithful the case as it had occurred. They themselves expressed unabated confidence in the Divine guidance and protection, and stated their own willingness to lead and rule the Body, as far as in them lay, in humble dependence upon heavenly

support. They begged also that prayers would be offered up by all in union, that a way might be found out of the present difficulty.

The answer from all quarters was satisfactory. The Churches, on hearing this appeal, expressed their undiminished reliance upon their rulers, and their willingness to submit to and follow their counsels and orders. Such, indeed, was the only course to be adopted, if the Body was to continue to exist. Drummond and Cardale were all-powerful.

CHAPTER XII.

LITURGICAL STUDIES.

WHEN after the severe struggles and anxieties recorded in the last chapter the machinery of the Body was again in working order, all the causes of disagreement which tended to clog or lock the wheels having been removed, we should have imagined that the eleven remaining apostles would have returned to their work in their tribes. But whether it was felt that the Churches at home could not now be safely left, or whether the fields abroad did not seem yet to be "white unto the harvest," and it appeared that all labour spent upon them would be premature, or whether affairs at home needed arrangement and setting in order before the grand work of evangelizing other nations was again attempted upon a scale commensurate with its importance,—whatever was the cause, the eleven now continued together for some years and devoted themselves to the general duties of the Society.

There was indeed a question of great importance which demanded immediate attention. As soon as the troubles were over Mr. Cardale drew up and presented to the Apostles a report in which he besought their

consideration of the authorization of a set form of prayer. He showed that this question had occupied the minds of many, and that it was for the advantage of the Community that it should be set at rest. It involved much difficulty, and needed delicate treatment and careful tact for a satisfactory solution.

Two schools of thought then existed side by side in the Catholic Apostolic Church. The older of these schools consisted of those people who had transmitted the Presbyterian traditions in Irving's Church, aided and augmented by other Non-conformists who had joined the body. They had themselves inherited a strong repugnance to written or prescribed forms of prayer, cherishing the well-known notion that words invented on the moment embody fresher, purer, and more earnest devotion ; they therefore hoped that the liturgy would be celebrated extemporaneously, and, therefore, as they fondly imagined, "in the spirit." This was an influential school, and had the advantage of prescriptive use and earlier custom.

But for a long time, and indeed ever since the period of Irving's sole ascendancy, those Irvingites who had been members of the Church of England had come to occupy the more influential position. Their habits and instincts were all in favour of fixed forms of prayer. They did not like the haphazard system of depending, in the joint supplications of a congregation to the Most High, upon the ready ability and the earnestness of a single minister. They yearned for something better and more comprehensive, more reverent and more

edifying, than the orations in which Scotch Presbyterians were in the habit of clothing the solemn offerings of the assembled people. This school was headed by the senior apostle. The opportunity seemed favourable for maintaining the necessary supervision by the Apostles at home, and for accomplishing a work which needed joint Apostolic sanction.

At the time which we have now reached in this history, the members of the Catholic Apostolic Church were, for a set of people who held peculiar views, and maintained peculiar rites of their own, strangely destitute of authorized documents. Their doctrines were indeed embodied in the three "testimonies." But these testimonies were addressed to potentates and ecclesiastics outside their pale, and did not constitute such an expression of tenets and practices as was wanted by the faithful amongst them. As soon as Mr. Irving was cast out of the Presbyterian ministry, and indeed turned out of the Presbyterian communion, there were no creeds or confession of any sort which were, as of authority, recognized in their society. They had inherited all the bareness of the Scotch Kirks in the way of forms of prayer, in observance, or rather non-observance of even the great Christian feasts, and at the same time had nothing of their own to take the place of the Westminster Articles and of other habits and traditions. They were held together only by a belief in the gifts of the Holy Spirit in the various appointments of the apostles and other ministers, and in several arrangements all of which took their rise from those

gifts, in the general doctrine preached by Irving of the true Humanity of our Lord, and in the nearness of our Lord's second Advent. The want of public formularies as a standard of ultimate resort in cases of controversy, had been grievously felt in the late disputes which had shaken the Body to the very sources of life. This, therefore, was the important subject which, now that calm had ensued upon the troubled waters, engrossed the attention of the Apostles, even in their "maimed and weakened state."

In the year 1838, and strange to say not before, a form was adopted for the consecration of the elements at the Holy Eucharist, and had been sent to the several angels of the Churches. Up to that time altars had not been found in the churches, but then a space was marked out as a *sacrarium*, and altars were erected. The people used also formerly to receive after the Scotch fashion, sitting in their seats. Now they begun by degrees to come up to the altar, and to kneel there for reception, so that in 1841 this had come to be the general custom.

Directions were now given involving the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, which, as has been related, had been learnt mainly on the continent of Europe. The people were taught that the Elements must be offered to the Lord before they were administered to the faithful. This offering was shown not to be, first, the presentation of the bread and wine previous to consecration, for that was only part of a general act of worship, with no special reference to the continual offering of the great High-Priest in heaven for His people; nor,

secondly, did they explain this offering to mean the presentation by the worshippers of themselves, their souls and bodies, as a reasonable sacrifice. The Eucharistic sacrifice was declared to be the offering of the Elements after consecration to God, when they had been made, by the act and operation of the Holy Ghost, to be the Body and Blood of the Lord, in remembrance of His death, and as the action of the Church on earth corresponding to the action of the great High-Priest above.

At the same time that this doctrine was taught, care was taken to exclude the interpretation which is suggested to many minds by the strong language employed by the Church of Rome upon this Sacrament. It was declared that the sacrifice in the Holy Eucharist is no repetition of the death of our Lord, and is not in itself expiatory. But it was shown to be "worthy, because it is the Body and Blood of Him who is the incarnate God ; acceptable, because God raised Him from the dead and seated Him at His own right hand ; unbloody, for it is not, as has been said, ' a repetition ' of the death of the Son of God upon the cross, but a presenting unto God of His Body and Blood, who is alive from the dead, in memorial of that one Sacrifice once offered for the sins of the world. This propitiatory sacrifice for the discerning truly the Body of the Lord is that which makes God propitious to us ; and the not discerning what we offer to God to be the Body and Blood of the Lord is that which brings judgment upon us, and perpetuates in the Church weakness, and disease, and death."

Without committing ourselves to this universal appli-

cation of the well-known passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians,¹ we may remark that in their main adoption of the doctrine of Eucharistic sacrifice, with a careful limitation of it so as to exclude false acceptation, the members of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church were following, not only the universal belief of the early Church, as shown in every single Liturgy of ancient times, but the teaching also in an unbroken chain of the most learned English divines. Were it not for the misapprehensions entertained by so many Protestants, this doctrine would really seem to contain no seeds of difficulty. The word "sacrifice" must always be combined, at least in meaning, with the epithet "unbloody," or "reasonable," *i. e.* virtual, or in effect (*λογικῇ*) ; and especially must be taken with immediate reference to the unceasing presentation of the one Sacrifice by the great High-Priest in heaven. Indeed, let this latter truth, which has been typified by the entrance of the Jewish high-priest annually into the Holy of holies, and is proved amply in the Epistle to the Hebrews, be once realized, and the correlative action of the Church upon earth follows necessarily. Taken so, and with no exaltation of the human priest, this doctrine presents no real difficulty except upon the principles of the Solifidian, who would exclude the necessity of good works, and ought upon his own principles to exclude also the necessity of prayer, lest it should interfere with the integrity of the one effectual Intercession. The Holy Eucharist ought, therefore, to be taken with primary

¹ 1 Cor. xi. 30. "For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep." See *Narrative*, p. 97.

reference to the continued and continuous attitude of the High-Priest in heaven, whereby He pleads before the eternal throne His unrenovable Sacrifice, made once for all, and only with secondary relation to the scene enacted upon Mount Calvary. Jewish rites, being more rudimentary and earthly, represented by anticipation what was to be done by our Lord in this lower world. The great Christian Sacrament sets forth correlatively what is passing in the Courts above. A complete realization of this distinction would, I believe, remove much misconception upon this important subject.

As before, so in the present case, these people appear to have derived much enlightenment from the Oxford school of theologians, who had already, in the movement commenced by the *Tracts for the Times*, taught upon the two great Sacraments the doctrines which have always obtained credence and authority in the Catholic Church. Their publications must have fallen into the hands of the leading men in the Body, who were also led on in a Catholic direction by their negotiations with the Churches abroad.

First of all, therefore, in the compilation of forms of prayer, the Liturgy, or Office of the Holy Eucharist, engaged the attention of the apostles. They were not satisfied with the Office used in the English Church. They wished to possess one of their own. At the same time, with a humility which seems to be inconsistent with the high claims that were inalienable from their apostolic office, they disclaimed making any arrangements for the Universal Church, and contented themselves with merely

supplying the pressing needs of their own people. They did not profess to draw up a perfect service-book, or even a single perfect service; not even to settle the prior question, whether set forms or extempore prayer ought to be employed. Their confidence in their united action seems to have been shaken, as was natural, by recent events.

The liturgy was made up chiefly from the ancient Liturgies which were in use in the earliest ages.¹ It opens with an invocation of the Blessed Trinity. Then it passes on at once to the confession and absolution,—the form of the latter being left at the option of the celebrant,—followed by a prayer of access and the Kyrie Eleison. Then comes the *Gloria in Excelsis*, with the special collect, epistle, and gospel, including a proper anthem in metre after the epistle, succeeded by the Nicene Creed. Then we find the offertory, with short anthems and a prayer, followed by the oblation of the elements, during which an anthem there given is to be sung, and a prayer of oblation. Next, after the *Sursum Corda*, a very comprehensive preface, somewhat verbose and weak in expression, followed by proper prefaces, the one for Pentecost introducing the four-fold ministry, and, like its companion for All Saints' Day, appearing to be longer than is desirable. The Lord's Prayer is now found, and immediately after, a prayer of consecration in each Kind. After this there is a "prayer of oblation after consecration," with special clauses for the chief festivals.

¹ *Readings on the Liturgy*, Part I., where, however (p. 118), more authority is claimed for the liturgy than was asked for upon its first publication.

Then after the offering up of incense, accompanied by a short anthem, a commemoration of the living, with some forms for all cases, and spaces for the introduction of special intercessions. Then, according to the invariable practice of ancient Liturgies, over which the dark gloom of mediæval extravagance has cast a thick mantle of determined but unfortunate prejudice, a commemoration of the departed, couched in moderate terms, and a concluding prayer before the administration for the hastening of the second Advent. At the beginning of that part of the service which relates to the administration, we have the prayer of humble access, followed by the *Agnus Dei*, and special addresses to the second and third Persons in the most Holy Trinity, including the well-known *ἀγία ἀγίοις*, "holy things for holy persons," and a benediction. Various forms of benediction are given, and anthems to be sung during Communion. The office is closed by post-communion prayers, an ill-arranged form of the Anglican version of the *Te Deum*, and the final benediction of the English Prayer-book.

On reading this over, and first eliminating the passages which embody peculiar Irvingite tenets, as different from Catholic doctrines, we are struck with the judgment which governed its composition. No one can take the Office in an English Prayer-book, which is deservedly in the hearts of all English Churchmen from its intrinsic beauty, from the extreme care manifested in its compilation and amendments, and from the remarkable comprehensiveness whereby in single phrases and turns of expression whole mines of Catholic truth are implied, and

also from the fact that contending parties at last settled down to its use in peaceful devotion for at least a century and a half,—yet no one can take this admirable Office and compare it side by side with the Liturgies of the early ages of the undivided Church, without regretting that many pearls of great price which are in the latter cannot be found in our own Prayer-book. The so-called Catholic Apostolic attempt was on the whole very well executed. Though not without faults, it is characterized throughout by a deeply devotional spirit, by a grasp of the chief points, and by generally good arrangement. More *limæ labor*—more toil in revision—might have been expended upon it, and there is a want often of condensation, and of a scholarly balance of expression, and of polished finish, needful for formularies in constant use.

A note was appended to the office for “The Holy Eucharist”—such was the name adopted—which requires a passing notice. It ran as follows :—

“Note.—The CREED in the above office is set forth in the form used in the Churches in the West. The Churches in the East use the CREED in the form in which it was left by the Council of Constantinople. It does not follow that these two divisions in the Christian Church are irreconcilably opposed on the doctrine involved in that clause, which the Western Churches affirm and the Eastern Churches abstain from affirming; and, until a competent authority shall pronounce thereon, it seems unreasonable that either form should be universally imposed.”

The Apostles, then, were not “a competent authority.”

But if they were not, who or what body was? Is not this another instance of the difficulty naturally felt by men endowed with the instincts of propriety, and with the modest bearing dictated by accomplished life, when they had to sustain the dignity and responsibility of an impossible office?

Besides the order for the celebration of the Holy Eucharist and the administration of the Holy Communion, the Apostles prepared some forms for the daily morning and evening services at six and at five, and for forenoon and afternoon services, which were to be said daily at nine and three, and on Sundays at ten and two. An office was also added for the sacrament of Holy Baptism. Some of these contain portions taken from the Church of England services, such as the general confession, and part of the general absolution. But they are drawn up in great measure upon principles of their own, and much of the language, as also in the Eucharistic service, is wholly original.

These general principles had been declared long before by the voice of prophecy. Thus the daily burnt-offering of the Jews, offered morning and evening, was supposed to set forth, in the morning and evening services, confession and absolution, followed by reading of the Holy Scriptures, and a psalm sung in praise of God. The incense burnt at the golden altar when Aaron went into the tabernacle to trim and light the lamps, morning and evening, was taken for supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings; and the angel of the Church was ordered to "minister the word" in the morning,

because Aaron alone performed this duty in trimming the lamps ; and he was assisted by elders in the evening, whom he had addressed in the morning, because the Jewish high-priest "from the centre lamp lighted those on either side,"¹ and the centre lamp, it will be remembered, was supposed to typify the angel, and the six lateral lamps the six elders.

The two services for morning and evening contained the following parts :—

I. The preliminary office of confession and dedication, which consisted of—1, invocation ; 2, exhortation ; 3, confession ; 4, absolution ; 5, prayer of dedication ; 6, reading of Holy Scripture ; 7, Apostles' Creed ; and 8, anthem.

II. The office of prayer and intercession, with the ministry of the word, containing—1, the Psalms, being the introit while the four ministers enter the Holy place ; 2, the prayer, upon placing the holy Sacrament upon the altar ; 3, the supplications, being part of the English Litany ; 4, prayers for (*a*) the Church, (*b*) Kings and those in authority, (*c*) seasonable weather, (*d*) the people ; 5, intercessions, *i. e.* five collects and the Lord's Prayer ; 6, thanksgivings (chiefly the English general thanksgiving), and an anthem whilst the incense is offered ;² 7, the intercession of the angel ; 8, the ministry of the word ; 9, the Benedictus (or Magnificat in the evening) ; 10, the benediction.

¹ *Readings upon the Liturgy*, 1. 438.

² The use of incense was not, however, introduced, even by permission, till the year 1852.

These services, when possible, were to be conducted by the angel, assisted by four of his elders, who represented the four-fold ministry. The exhortation was taken by the evangelist, as addressing more those who were without; the confession by the pastor, who should be intimate with the failings of his flock; the reading of the Holy Scriptures by the prophet, as the declarer of the will of God; and the creed by the elder, as the guardian of true doctrine. Further developments of this principle were made afterwards. It will be observed that the members of this Body observe the practice of the reservation of the Holy Sacrament, though this was not introduced till the year 1850. They tried by restrictions to guard this custom from the abuse to which it is liable. They learnt it from the invariable habit of the Greek and Roman branches of the Church, and from the records of the early ages in Her existence.¹

Besides the composition of the Liturgy, the Apostles also determined to introduce vestments. A feeling in favour of some authorized ecclesiastical dress, in which the sacred services should be conducted, had sprung up in the Community together with the desire for a set form of prayer. The extreme simplicity in the mode of conducting the services, and the absence of any special externals, which had hitherto prevailed, naturally seemed out of place, and indeed somewhat repulsive. It was observed that in ordinary life people dress according to the work they have to do, their profession, and the society into which they enter. They put on a dress different

¹ *Readings upon the Liturgy*, 1. 398, &c.

from what they wear amidst daily occupations when about to go to dine with even equals in rank. They must conform in this respect to Court regulations if they wish to gain access to Royalty. Why, then, when they come before the King of kings, and approach His altar officially, ought they not to put on some special dress befitting the solemn duties in which they were engaged?

Thus the question was introduced to the consideration of the Apostles, and was decided in its general aspect upon the grounds described. But if a dress was to be introduced, of what kind or kinds was it to be? Was it to be the simple Anglican surplice, or the richer and more symbolic garb of the Romans and Greeks? According to the principles now observed, of following those Catholic customs which appeared to possess universality and authority, where they did not conflict with the peculiar tenets to which the Body was pledged in its early history, or in its constitution, they had only one course to pursue. In favour of the surplice alone, only a Protestant simplicity which they did not affect, or prescriptive custom in England to which they paid no attention, could be advanced. The study of Mant's Prayer-book—the authority most in vogue in those days—would alone show the insecure basis upon which the exclusive use of the surplice rested. Before impartial eyes, a priest vested in the latter garment could not compare for appearance with one who had put on the varied vestments in use elsewhere. These, too, had the sanction of many more ages of observance, and of Catholic antiquity. So they were adopted.

Accordingly, for all services connected with the altar, the alb and girdle, stole and chasuble, were authorized. A cope was set apart for the presiding angel; and a surplice, with a rochette and mosette added in Sept. 1846, for preaching. These were believed to constitute the prevailing dress of priests as far back as the third century.¹

In September, 1842, the new Liturgy and the vestments were introduced at Albury. This place had been pointed out in prophecy as the chief seat of the apostles. There the first evangelist and the first angel were ordained. There the apostles were directed to retire as soon as they were separated. From Albury the apostles were directed to go forth on their evangelizing labours, and there they assembled on their return. The ministers of the Universal Church attached to the apostles, as opposed to the ministers of special Churches, had their residence there. At the church of Albury, therefore, which had now become more the Apostles' Chapel, where they and their families and ministers and immediate adherents met, than a public cathedral, or even an ordinary church, the first start was made in the richer mode of worship which was being inaugurated. The introduction was therefore made quietly and even tentatively. For at Albury, where in earlier years congregations numbering from fifty to two hundred used to assemble,² at the time of which we are treating as well as at the present day, scarce any, if any, joined regularly in

¹ *Chronicle*, pp. 32, 33.

² McNeile's *Letters to a Friend*, p. 110.

the worship, except the families of the apostles and their ministers, who could not advance objections. The apostles, if they were present, acted as the presidents of the service. If not, there was an angel that had succeeded Drummond upon his travelling about, and had the pastoral care of the flock, who took the chief place. It was felt that the apostles should be absorbed in the higher duties of the management of their tribes, and of the affairs of the Church Universal, and that the care of souls and the charge of particular congregations should be delegated to others of inferior rank.

At the same time option was given to the other Churches to follow or not the example set in the Apostles' Chapel. There was much diverse feeling upon the subject. Most were anxious to go forward, but a large number clung to that absence of anything that could be dignified by the name of ritual, which is so dear to the prejudices of the Ultra-Protestant mind. By degrees the Churches fell in. But the change was not effected without the loss of numerous adherents, which is not to be wondered at, considering how altered the new mode of conducting the services was from the bare simplicity of the popular days of Irving.

On Christmas Day, 1842, all the Churches in London, some of which had adopted the new usage before, and most of the Churches throughout the country, celebrated the festival with vestments and liturgies. And in 1843 the Churches and people continued to grow into the use of them. It was an anxious time. For these changes, coming upon the assumption of despotic power by the

Apostles, and the curtailment of the prophetic speech, added to the previous virtual failure in Christendom generally, and to the defection of Mackenzie, caused a serious diminution in the numbers of the Community. Several congregations were dispersed, and isolated adherents, or where only a few existed, were committed to the charge of the clergy of the parishes belonging to the Church of England. The ministers who had laboured in such places were transferred, either to fill up places now become vacant, or to add to the number of clergy already attached to a Church, so as to enable them to perform the full service. In places where there were not enough ministers it was ordered that the entire service should not be attempted. The apostles felt deeply their weakened state.

This was plainly, however it might be explained or veiled, a retrograde step. It was like the measures of retrenchment which a man is forced to take in prudence when he has found that his mode of living is beyond his means. The work had not grown and multiplied so as to answer the fond expectation of ardent spirits. And the introduction of the new Liturgy and the vestments, prompted as it was and demanded by the growing desire of æsthetical order, and the then developing tendency towards Catholic doctrines and observances, was nevertheless far from being popular in the eyes of many, or likely at that time to attract the masses of the people. None of the apostles, on the other hand, had risen to anything like the eminence, whether in powers of reflection, or extent of learning, or habits of influence, sufficient

to lead the moving thought of the nation, or to mould the minds of the thinking few, or affect, to any appreciable extent, the large numbers of people who were seriously interested in the religious questions of the day. A few spasmodic efforts had not lifted Irvingism out of obscurity. Few knew much of it. Many fancied that it had wholly disappeared. So little had Drummond in former days foreseen that liturgical study and composition would be regarded as the chief feat of the apostles, that he wrote in his *Abstract Principles of Revealed Religion* that one of the errors or mistakes into which the restored apostles might run, would be, "instead of preaching the gospel of the kingdom to the nations," to "sit down and study minute points of ritual."¹

They were confessedly inadequate to the difficult task of deciding questions on which large bodies of Christians were at variance, although they claimed the authority to unite the Church and to present it to the Lord at His coming, and asserted that the disputes and divisions in the Church had arisen through the absence of apostles from the time of the deaths of the first twelve to the appointment of the second Apostolic College. Referring to this period of deliberation, one of their recognized records states :—

"They, *i. e.* the apostles, have made the attempt, and *have proved their inability* at this time to draw the line between the varying practices of the north and south ; to reconcile the systems of doctrine which are addressed to

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 77. Drummond's *Principles of Abstract Religion*.

the intellect with the devotional practices which touch the feelings ; the assumed orthodoxy of the Eastern, and the unbending infallibility of the Western Church ; the exuberant riches of ornament of the Roman ritual, and the cold severity of the Calvinistic school ; to decide between the advocates of the bended knee, the upright figure, and the sitting posture. How far any rule or standard upon these matters, which depend so much on the characters and constitutions of men, on the climates and features of the countries in which they dwell, and on the nature of the institutions and habits to which they have been accustomed, can be laid down in this dispensation, *they know not*. The more important matters—the order of the Churches under angels, the need and use of the four-fold ministry for the perfecting of the Church, the gifts and powers of the Holy Ghost, the first principles of the doctrines of Christ, the truth and order of the sacrament of Baptism and of the Supper of the Lord, the right place of the other sacramental acts which have been set in order among them, and the hope of the Coming of the Lord—that blessed, purifying hope which grows more real, more intense, and ever brighter as things seen are passing away ; these things they have received from God, not for themselves alone, but for all the Church ; these things they have set in the Churches under them, and these things they are ready to set in order among all who receive them ; so that being like-minded in those things whereunto they have attained, if in anything they be otherwise minded, God may reveal this also unto them ; above all things being of one mind in

this, viz. to press toward the mark for the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus." ¹

That is to say, when we reduce to proper dimensions the latter part of this passage in which the author, speaking for the apostles, gives rein to his enthusiasm,—in the sectarian matters which concern their own religious Body they are competent and able, but in those highly important points on which hinge the deplorable schisms of the Catholic Church, and for the settlement of which, if for anything, an Apostolic College with Divine mission and universal authority and heaven-directed wisdom was needed, in these the Apostles professed themselves ignorant respecting the weight and value of the underlying principles, and unable to come to or to suggest any decision. Doubtless they were so, and we like them as men the better for acknowledging their ignorance and inability. But if this acknowledgment be not fatal to their claim to be the apostles of the Gentiles, it at least reduces the advantage of having such apostles within such narrow limits, that we can hardly see why the Universal Church would not get on quite as well without them.

By the end of 1843 the Apostles found that the state of their work at home was such as to allow them partially to resume the evangelical labours abroad which had been interrupted in 1840. But whether it was that they thought best to keep a larger number upon the spot, in order not to give opportunity for the insubordination

¹ *Narrative*, pp. 103, 104. The italics are mine. *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 56.

which sprang up when they were all absent except one or two ; or whether Mr. Cardale required help to enable him to devote himself unreservedly to the preparation of the services which make up Parts II., III., and IV. in their Prayer-book ; or whether, lastly, some of the tribes presented no prospect at all of success ; so it was, that only a few went abroad, whilst four stayed at Albury, and the rest undertook ministerial services somewhere at home.¹

Whilst the apostles were away, the strife between the Ritualistic and Puritan parties increased. Many wished for further advance in external worship, and several angels adopted fresh forms and ceremonies without waiting for apostolic sanction. These steps caused considerable opposition and discontent, and several members fell off. At last, towards the close of 1845, the four apostles at Albury, whom I believe to have been Cardale, Drummond, Tudor, and Sitwell,² summoned the rest to a meeting upon the subject. They assembled on Jan. 12th, 1846, in obedience to the call, but with numbers again diminished. For although the summons had been despatched to every one, Mackenzie, who before withdrew, did not, as might be expected, comply with it ; and Dalton considered himself to be hindered by ministerial services which he had undertaken in the Church of England in Devonshire.

The question of the immediate introduction of the various ceremonies which were advocated was placed before the meeting. The ten apostles prudently took

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 34.

² This is only surmise.

an intermediate course. They sanctioned the use of certain minor observances wherever wished, such as the offering of the prayer of dedication by the elder; but the employment of others, such as holy water, and of reservation of the blessed Sacrament, and of lights and incense, was delayed for the present.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GATHERING OF THE HARVEST.



THE meeting of the apostles, which was mentioned at the end of the last chapter, was accompanied, like the former meeting, with signs of depression and discouragement. Success to anything like the extent expected in earlier times had not shown itself. As usually happens when measures of construction are adopted by a body of men whose bond of union is only agreement in the undeveloped elements of an inchoate system, advance was attended by divisions. Two schools of thought were found to co-exist, and as one went to the wall, many of its members retired from communion. Prospects seemed all the more serious, because the core of the society was not sound, and the evil appeared there to be spreading. One apostle had definitely left the college, and now at least another was hanging back. The Apostles, taken generally, were losing much of their earlier vigour and prestige.

They now separated and went to their several duties, wheresoever they might be, having first committed the care of the seven Churches in London to Mr.

Cardale till the next meeting. He was to summon the college together, either upon his own responsibility or on the requisition of any two of their members.

"Such of the apostles as had charge of Churches in other lands took steps to encourage them under the present circumstances of difficulty and trial." These are the ominous words of the *Chronicle*,¹ alluding to the fewness of the tribes in which converts existed, and to the intestine troubles which were producing so much discouragement. Cardale especially took energetic measures for holding together the communion in England.

Numbers had so fallen off in London that the church in Westminster, which was one of the seven, was now obliged to be shut up and sold. It is remarkable, taking into account the rapid enlargement during the life of Irving, that never even in so vast a city as London, and in the very centre of their operations, more than the small number of seven churches was ever found. The question of an increase in the number by affiliation or otherwise was never seriously entertained, except that Gordon Square and Islington at one time had a "Horn," *i. e.* a chapel of ease. And now in one of these, the ministers and people were "too few in number to carry out the daily services."² Therefore the congregation was distributed amongst the remaining Churches in the spring of 1846, and the seven Churches no longer continued complete, nor could their entire number be made up till the year 1865, when the church in Westminster was again restored.

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 35.

² *Ibid.* p. 35.

Cardale felt so strongly the necessity of doing something to reassure the sinking spirits of the faithful in England that he invited all the ministers of the Churches in London, and as many as could be spared from the country, to meet him and to express their feelings and opinions. When they came, he explained fully the general state of affairs, pointing out the difficulties and the prospects of success, and describing the plan of operations which he proposed to adopt. He finally asked them whether they would support him, and how far they would join in heart and spirit in carrying out the mode of proceedings which he had sketched for them. He spoke with great vigour and determination, coupled with confidence in the work. His feeling communicated itself to all. Great confidence was felt and expressed in his judgment and leadership. All were determined to work together. The bracing air of trouble added fresh strength. Finding that the leaders did not "despair of the republic," they saw that "a new era had commenced;"¹ and, grateful to God that their efforts had not come to nought, they set themselves to labour afresh, in order to conquer success, if it were possible.

Cardale perceived that more must be done to teach the angels of the Churches, who were far from being "to the manner born," how to use the new Liturgy, and how to explain it to their congregations. For ensuing upon the fact that the movement had now lost the charm of novelty, and had gained a history by the stern facts of which the value of its lofty aims and high pretensions

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 35.

could be gauged, the introduction of an elaborate ritual grounded upon occult principles had proved a serious drawback, as far as the mere numbers of converts and adherents were concerned. On being veered away from the sunny shores of popular Protestantism, the vessel had encountered the bracing but searching winds of Catholic principles, and especially was experiencing the impediments which have been ever strewn in the way of those who maintain and disseminate high Eucharistic doctrine. "Will ye also go away?" was the question addressed by the highest Authority to His faithful few when His teaching on this subject had the effect of repelling many who had been attracted by a superficial view of His teaching. Such was Cardale's increased difficulty as the leader and chief mainstay in this newer and most valuable province of their instruction. Had it been unattended by the formidable want of favourable results of their career, and by the presence of those which were unfavourable and greatly embarrassing, prospects would have appeared far more encouraging and hopeful.

Mr. Cardale, therefore, accompanied by the chief officers who were associated with him in the care of England, or the tribe of Judah, now visited the several churches at home from time to time. An apostle is supposed to have with him, as if on his particular staff, and to be employed by him for the purposes of the Universal Church, or for the general business of his tribe, a prophet, an evangelist, and a pastor. The prophet is the head of all the prophets in the tribe, the evangelist of the evangelists, and the pastor of the pastors. These

are in their several provinces respectively the media of all communications between the apostle and the ministers of the tribe. Everything to and fro passes through their hands. Attended, therefore, by the prophet, evangelist, and pastor "with him," according to the set phrase, Cardale at this time busied himself in visiting the various churches, in order to set things in order.

The apostles at this time, as in the years immediately preceding, considered that teaching was required especially upon four subjects. They explained the reasons for the employment of vestments, as befitting the dignity and order of the Church of God, both as sanctioned by the prevailing use of the Universal Church with the dissent of only a comparatively small minority, and as possessed of significance and propriety though containing no intrinsic excellence. They insisted also upon the necessity of public confession and absolution as an introduction to common worship, according to the ritual of the Church of England; and upon intercession as a marked and definite feature of that worship, after the pattern of, and in correlation with, the great High-Priest, "who ever liveth to make intercession for us." They also especially instructed the ministers and people upon the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as a means of conveying Holy Communion, and particularly as the most important part of holy worship.

Meanwhile such of the other apostles as had special fields of labour were employed in similar attempts to overcome the feeling of lethargy and despondency which had come over the Body. Some of this feeling was

caused by the fact that ideas, grounded upon various prophecies, had ever been rife amongst them that the Lord would appear on various special occasions, but the anticipated times of fulfilment had hitherto passed by without His coming. Such periods were July 14th, 1835, the day of the separation of the apostles; Christmas Day, 1838, the 1260th day after that event; July 14th, 1843, seven years after it; and the same day in 1845, or the tenth anniversary, besides some intermediate times of sanguine expectation. This tendency to fix upon particular dates for the second Advent has characterized these people all through their history, and beliefs of that kind have been frequently all but universally cherished, although they have been kept out of their authoritative decisions, and Mr. Cardale, whether from caution or long experience and disappointment, has on many occasions at least set his face against any dogmatic settlement of future dates.

In the earlier part of 1847, the meetings of the seven Churches, which were suspended in 1840, were resumed. The first meeting took place in April of that year. But the old council, which, as will be remembered, assembled monthly, besides the monthly meeting of the Churches, was not convened. Instead of that, which was attended by ministers of all grades, Cardale convoked a council of all the angels in England, whether prophets, evangelists, or pastors, upon the Wednesday after each meeting of the seven Churches. Matters relating to the welfare of the Churches in the tribe of Judah were submitted to this conference.

At this time considerable alterations and additions were introduced into the liturgy. Several forms of prayer for private or special occasions were authorized. The services for Christmas, Easter, and Pentecost—for the word “Whitsunday” does not occur in their Prayer-book—date from this time. Various additional outward ceremonies, such as the use of consecrated oil in the visitation of the sick, according to the order of St. James,¹ were now added. A second edition of the Prayer-book was also printed and issued.

Besides this a beginning was made in another work. Various rubrics, regulating the proceedings of ministers in their performance of Divine service, were drawn up for their authorized guidance and instruction. An elaborately-compiled book of this kind now exists, answering to the *Directorium* which is used by Roman priests.

This year also, 1847, saw the introduction of another ceremony, which has been one of the most distinguishing features of Irvingism.

It has been seen² that the Apostles in council determined that the arrangement of the children of Israel in twelve tribes, according to the number of the twelve patriarchs, did not relate to the old dispensation alone, but included, at least in type, the Gentile world also. The fact that this division was caused originally by twelve actual lines of descent, whilst the Gentile portion of the Church could only be arranged according to a purely

¹ “Is any sick among you? let him call for the elders of the Church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.”—St. James v. 14.

² See above, pp. 179—182.

arbitrary selection, with only faint grounds, if any at all, for the arrangement made, does not appear to have shaken their faith. To an outsider such particulars in the system adopted as that Switzerland should be joined with Scotland, Ireland with Greece, India with Poland, and that with the exception of India, Europe alone should be included in the division, and America should be an extra-tribal appendage, seem strange, and indeed fantastic. The small adaptations which in Catholic Apostolic eyes are happy and appropriate, appear to others microscopic, and all but colourless. But so it was. Although there is no evidence to show that St. Peter, St. John, St. James, and their colleagues regarded themselves as having any special jurisdiction or distinct mission to separate tribes of Jews or Gentiles; although the weight of testimony after the captivity is unmistakably in favour of the tribes having in later Jewish days been practically welded into one; although the Apostles themselves, without a shadow of doubt, were not taken from each of the twelve lines of descent from Jacob; and notwithstanding the emphatic assertion of the great Gentile Apostle that in Christ Jesus "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision," and his strong arguments that the pettier machinery of the favoured nation was swallowed up in the free amplitude of the Universal Church of Christ;—these people, nevertheless, paused in their advance towards Catholic principles to develope into further completeness this part of their system, which they had taken out of Judaism. They were not afraid of using old bottles for new wine. The well-known passage in

the Revelation, which speaks of the sealing of the twelve¹ tribes of Israel before the mention is made of the Gentiles, supplied them with the hint. They worked from this beginning, and assuming that the 144,000 of the children of Israel were identical with the "great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues,"² they proceeded to ground a definite doctrine upon this insecure basis.

¹ Rev. vii. It is remarkable that in order to keep up the number of twelve, Levi being included, and Ephraim (under the name of Joseph) and Manasseh being both mentioned, the tribe of Dan is omitted. Bengel gives the following reason: "Dan is omitted because that tribe had now long ago fallen away to the single family of Hussim, as the Hebrews say, and this family itself seems to have perished before the times of Esdras. For in the Chronicles, where the patriarchs are mentioned, Dan is omitted. And perhaps this is predicted in Amos viii. 14. John of Antioch relates that a few survived of the tribe of Dan, and that they fled into Phoenicia.—*Grotius*. It is not so much that Dan is omitted, as that his small numbers, concluded under Manasseh, are joined with Naphtali, whose brother he was by the same mother. For Naphtali alone, unless this is here tacitly implied, would not have his brother by the same mother mentioned in connection with him."—Bengel, *Gnomon*, in Rev. vii. 6.

² This is a very great assumption. It is clear that in the passage the children of Israel are mentioned first and the Gentiles afterwards. The transition, and the difference between the two bodies of Israelites and Gentiles is marked—1. By "after these things," *μετὰ ταῦτα*. 2. By the absence of expressions implying identity. 3. By the opposition between the definite number of those that were sealed (*τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἱσφραγισμένων*), 144,000 (*ἑκατὸν τεσσαράκοντα τέσσαρες χιλιάδες*), and a great multitude which no man could number (*ὄχλος πολλός, ὃν ἀριθμῆσαι οὐδεὶς ἰδύνατο*). 4. From the fact that the first body is said to come from every tribe of the children of Israel (*ἐκ πάσης φυλῆς υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ*), and the second from every nation, and tribes, and peoples, and tongues (*ἐκ παντὸς ἔθνους καὶ φυλῶν, καὶ λαῶν, καὶ γλωσσῶν*). If this contradiction of terms, to mention nothing else, be not sufficient to exclude the identity of the two bodies, it is hard to see what would be, short of an absolute denial, which these words surely render useless. I am aware that the view which I am refuting is maintained on grounds extraneous to the passage itself by many Churchmen. Still the contrasts in the passage are surely fatal to such a view.

They asserted that, in order to escape the great tribulation which is coming, it is necessary to be outwardly sealed by some people specially commissioned to perform this office; that the apostles are sent for this purpose; and that this power of sealing is their special gift and privilege; that those who are thus sealed, besides being saved from the great tribulation which is to be sent upon the earth, will follow the Lamb whithersoever He goeth; that the precise number of 144,000 must be made up; and that when that number is completed by 12,000 having been sealed from each Tribe, the Lord will come. They do not bestow the sealing till the age of twenty years.

When this Rite was definitely determined upon, and the mode of performing it and the Service were settled, Mr. Cardale announced his readiness to convey "the seal" to those who sought for it. Accordingly, on May 31, 1847, he sealed those amongst the Ministers who desired it, and on the 8th June he imparted this blessing, as it was believed to be, to all other Angels, or Priests, or Deacons, who were anxious to partake of it. On the next day, June 9th, and on June 28th, he sealed the rest of the faithful who so wished: or in the words of the *Chronicle*, "Afterward the flocks, presented by their respective Angels, passed under the hand of him that telleth them,—the Lord's jewels were counted up by the steward of the household, and the faithful sealed with the seal of the Living God upon their foreheads."¹ "Since that period," the record goes on to say, "the seal

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 36.

of the Holy Ghost has in like manner been received by all who have attained the age of twenty years, they having first individually renewed their baptismal vows, wherein they had professed their determination to dedicate themselves to the service of the Lord."

But two of the Apostles never consented to bestow the sealing; so that in two at least of the Tribes the necessary 12,000 has been absent. In several others the number has been notably small, as in Spain and Portugal, Italy, and others. Indeed, besides England and Germany and America, scarcely any countries have yielded a number for sealing which can be taken to be considerable. In Austria there have been hardly any at all.¹ A late Member, who was many years a Minister in the Body, estimates the entire number of the sealed as not more than a tenth of the total number mentioned in the Revelation, which indeed, if it is to be taken literally for all in the Universal Church who are to be admitted to such a privilege as is here claimed, would represent a very modest proportion of even living Christians. The "Member" referred to adds—what is undoubtedly the case—that even of this tenth, if that proportion is correct, many have now given up all connection with the Body.²

This Rite is indeed one of the distinguishing features of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church. It answers to Confirmation, only that the Blessing of the Angel is

¹ *Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingism), its Pretensions and Claims, &c., by a late Member, many years a Minister in the Body.* London: George John Stevenson, 1872, p. 10.

² *Ibid.*

held to be a sufficient qualification for becoming Communicants, and "is considered to be their Episcopal Confirmation."¹ Sealing can be conferred only by Apostles; so that those who have only received Confirmation are supposed to stand in need of the higher grace, which can only be given by means of Apostolic hands. The attractions offered by this Rite are among the chief inducements held out to people to join the sect. For if it be admitted that the Lord's approach is close at hand, and that the terrible tribulation will succeed very soon, and that the latter evil can only be escaped by those who are, so to speak, sealed *en transit* for the Kingdom of Heaven, people who become alarmed and are thus ready to take a prudent measure, which is recommended to their notice and adoption, avail themselves of the supposed advantage which is thus offered for easy acceptance. For Sealing is not only represented as a passport through the dreadful time which is supposed

¹ Norton's *Restoration of Apostles and Prophets*, p. 175. Such is the description given by one of their leading Members of the present day. But there is much vagueness here as in several other particulars, and inconsistency of practice. Drummond says that Confirmation is two-fold, 1. By the Angel or Bishop, as a preparation for Holy Communion; and 2. By the Apostles, "for setting and arranging every Member in his particular place, and also of sealing him irrevocably in the same." He adds:—"So it is with the people," *i. e.* as in the case of the priesthood,—“that which they receive by the imposition of the hands of the Apostles is not to make them better husbands and wives, parents or children, masters or servants, is not to confer upon them personal, or family, or political graces, but ecclesiastical or spiritual strength, or power to fulfil ecclesiastical and spiritual relationship, and duties in the Body of Christ, and as members of it.”—*Substance of Lectures delivered in the Churches*, by Henry Drummond. London: Bosworth, 1847, pp. 358, 359, 362. What is this strange doctrine but ecclesiasticism run wild?

to draw on when our Lord comes : it is taken to be a qualification for becoming a member of His Court, of the Company which are to be attached to His Person, and to follow in His immediate Train. These transcendent advantages are offered by this handful of people, as if attested and proved by the Very Voice of God speaking through the Prophets. This place of precedence in the Kingdom of Heaven they fancy is reserved through all the glorious ages of the Church, over the heads of Martyrs, Confessors, Saints, of every period and country, for these people and for those who accept the mission of these Ten—not Twelve—ordinary Englishmen.

In the same breath, they proclaim that they are not Sectarians, but Catholics in the wide acceptation of that honoured name.

We do not hear much of any progress made by the other Apostles abroad, unless it was in Germany : and the year 1847 was marked further by a distinctly secular act of one of the two chief Leaders of the Body. The sincerity and uprightness of Mr. Drummond could not be questioned ; and added to his frank and genial bearing and his considerable wealth and abilities, rendered him a popular man, and one who was trusted in his neighbourhood. Accordingly in 1847 a requisition was made to him, largely signed by influential men, to stand as a Candidate on the Conservative side for the representation of West Surrey in the House of Commons. Drummond accepted the proposal, was elected, and continued to represent the County till his death. The figure which he cut in Parliament and the position which he gained have

been already described.¹ His speeches were by no means confined to Ecclesiastical Politics and Subjects. He took part in debates upon finance, upon the social condition of the people, upon representation, and upon general subjects.

This was an event of great significance. It showed that even the anxious and responsible duty of closing the vast chasms which separated the different Branches of the Church Universal, and of preparing Her to meet the Lord at His Coming, which was supposed to be close at hand, was not sufficient to engross the thoughts and energies of one who, in influence as well as order, ranked as the Second Apostle. The versatility of Drummond's genius, and the opportunity afforded by a wider sphere for increasing his personal influence, and the consistent and fearless manner in which he upheld Irvingite claims and tenets upon all occasions, have been pleaded in explanation of this remarkable step. But what would be said if an Archbishop discussed numerous subjects of a purely political nature, with the freedom and interest and previous study with which Drummond handled them? Yet here was a man, advancing a claim that he was above all the Archbishops that ever lived, that he had been sent in the unprecedented emergency of the close of the Church's existence, that he was one of the most prominent of the latter half of the twenty-four chieftains of the Church of all ages, who at the same time, in the very sight, as he maintained, of the great Appearance of the Lord in the clouds of Heaven, was busying himself in the

¹ Above, p. 32.

midst of the turmoil and strifes of this world with matters which could equally well be managed by men who had no special duties of a religious character, and were not burdened with such tremendous responsibilities. One thing is clear, that whether from the weakness of apostolical efforts, or through the operation of causes beyond their control, Drummond's duties as an Apostle must have been so light as to allow him leisure to devote to the calls of a sedulous County Member of the House of Commons. Let it be remembered that his large estates and personal business must have taken up some portion at least of his time and thoughts. No one could impute to Mr. Drummond a conscious neglect of duty. We can come therefore to no other conclusion than that the field of apostolic work open to him was very narrow and confined. Whilst at the same time, no small amount of blame is due to him for having mingled a life so distinctly secular with an office which, if it meant anything, ought to have absorbed all his thoughts and efforts.

The next year was more favourable for the Community. The unsettled state of affairs throughout almost the whole Continent of Europe, which seemed to exhibit a sign of "men's hearts failing them for fear," predisposed people for receiving a teaching, the mainspring of which lay in the near expectation of the Second Advent. The Evangelists were in consequence more active : and through their exertions several people were added to the Body, and to the communion of the Restored Apostles.

A similar advance attended their efforts during the year 1849. As longer time elapsed since the changes in

worship were introduced, order and discipline and satisfaction increased. The meaning of the new Liturgy was better understood: and as the Ministers became more acquainted with it, and habituated to the use of it, the celebration of their rites of worship became more regular, and was better conducted. The machinery of the Body worked well, and nothing of late years had occurred to clog the wheels.

In 1850 some more changes were introduced. The Doctrine of Eucharistic Sacrifice had been very slowly received. As in the Church of England, people were afraid that much more was meant by it than ever was intended. But by degrees they learnt that the great object of the Doctrine, whenever it is properly understood and interpreted, is to bring the faithful ever nearer and more near to the One Great Sacrifice for sins. The members of the Body now went a step further.

It "Had been long seen by the light of prophecy, and was now taught, that there should always be reserved in God's house food for His children, not only for the pressing necessities of the sick, but also for the daily communion of the faithful; and what place so fitted for the reservation of the Sacrament as the altar? It was therefore ordered, that a certain portion of the Bread and Wine, which had been consecrated on the previous Lord's Day, should be kept in an appropriate ark or tabernacle, placed upon the altar. The elements so reserved were not merely for the purpose of consumption, but also of proposition before the Lord: by this was expressed the spiritual truth,

symbolized by the table of shew-bread, or bread of proposition, under the Law. It was directed, that at morning and evening services, immediately before the supplications, the Angel should go up to the altar, and taking the holy vessels containing the Bread and Wine out of the tabernacle, should spread them reverently before the Lord ; not proposing them to the people as an object of adoration, but as an expression in symbol, afterwards to be declared in word, that our whole trust is in the all-sufficient sacrifice of Jesus, and that it is in His name we offer up our prayers, and for His sake only expect an answer. By the reservation of these symbols upon the altar, the people are continually assured of the Presence of the Lord, which alone gives sanctity, and designates the house where they assemble as His ; while the daily proposition keeps up the memorial of His continual intercession fresh in their minds, and stirs up stronger faith and confidence in their Heavenly Father.”¹

I have given the explanation of the reasons for the introduction of the practices of the reservation of the Consecrated Elements in the words of the recognized *Chronicle*, in order that, in a matter of so much delicacy, about which feelings are often strongly excited, it should be known what the introducers of the practice say themselves. Previous abuse led to the abolition of the practice in the English Church, and the large preponderance of feeling and opinion is now against it. The want of it is felt strongly by some, especially by those who have frequently to administer the Holy Communion to the

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 39.

sick, who in numerous cases desire that inestimable support in trouble and in the ordinary course of life, much more often than under present arrangements they can possibly receive it. The sole question is whether the practice in question could be revived amongst us without abuse. Various opinions, no doubt, will be held as to what constitutes abuse. Meanwhile, the custom of the Irvingites affords an apposite instance, which deserves attention. We may add, that when the novelty has passed away which attracts more sensational minds, the sober sense of moderate English people is in itself a great safeguard. The question is evidently one which requires caution, calm judgment, and the absence of prejudice. At the same time, attention should be drawn to the theory of "proposition" above stated, which is drawn, not from the belief and teaching of the Catholic Church of Christ, but from Jewish sources. It will receive further examination afterwards.

About the same date, a development of the principle of the fourfold Ministry was made in the daily Services. It has been stated before,¹ that in Churches where the full complement of Ministers exists, the Exhortation is delivered by the Evangelist, the Confession by the Pastor, the Holy Scriptures are read by the Prophet, and the Creed is recited by the Elder. These portions of the Service are supposed to suit severally the character borne by each of these Classes of Ministers. In 1846, the Elder was ordered to say the Prayer of Dedication: and now, in 1850, the Supplications were assigned to the Pastor,

¹ Page 232.

the Prayers Commemorative to the Evangelist, the Prayers Intercessory to the Elder, and the Thanksgivings to the Prophet. The third Edition of the Prayer-book was now published.

The Evangelists continued their efforts, and some of the Churches which had been discontinued were now re-established: and some fresh congregations were collected in places where nothing had been effected before. The roll of communicants in the summer of 1851 shewed an increase of one-third beyond the reckoning of 1846.¹ According to Mr. Horace Mann's tables in the Census of 1851, their numbers at Public Worship, as recorded by themselves, amounted to 3176 in the Morning, 1659 in the Afternoon, and 2707 in the Evening. The number of Churches was 32, and of sittings, 7437.² Such was the result of sixteen years under divinely-sent Apostles, and with the Divine Utterance, as was imagined, continually heard in the Community, and guiding efforts in the direction of success. No account is here taken of operations previous to the separation of the Apostles.

Some efforts had been made in America at various times by Mr. Woodhouse, whose attempts were turned in that direction in consequence of the difficulty which he experienced in making any way in Austria during the first mission of the Apostles. Therefore, in the years 1839,³

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 40.

² The actual numbers in the Return are: Churches, 32. Number of sittings returned, 6973; or, allowing for non-return, 7437. Worshippers: Morning, 3077, or 3176; Afternoon, 1607, or 1659; Evening, 2622, or 2707. Places open for worship: Morning, 29; Sittings, 6313. Afternoon, 17; Sittings, 4253. Evening, 24; Sittings, 5043. In 1841 they had 28 places of worship.

³ *Narrative*, p. 81.

1844,¹ 1846,² and afterwards, he bent his course in the direction of the New World, and met with some small success. In 1851, the Rev. John Canfield Sterling was put upon "his trial upon presentment for alleged schismatical conduct before the Episcopal Church in the United States of America."³ The facts were admitted, and Mr. Sterling was deprived of his Incumbency.

The year 1851, being the year of the Exhibition, offered great advantages for proselytism. Sermons were accordingly preached every week by ministers from France, Germany, and Italy, in their own respective languages. The attendance was poor, and hardly any were won over. The only tangible results were that some French Italian, and German work-people were found scattered throughout London, and that for a time a French and Italian Chaplain were appointed for each of those Tribes, in order to attend to their countrymen in London.⁴

A meeting of the Apostles was held in the June of that year, the result of which does not show much activity in the College beyond what was being done by Mr. Cardale. The care of the Churches in London, which had been committed to him till the next meeting of the Apostles, was now placed in his hands indefinitely. "He was to hold the charge until some other arrangement was made."⁵

These words mark the utter collapse of the government of the Irvingite Body, and through them of the

¹ *Chronicle*, p. 34.

² *Sterling's Defence*. New York. 1851.

³ *Chronicle*, p. 41.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 35.

⁵ *Chronicle*, p. 40.

Universal Church, by means of a Twelve-fold Apostolate. The Apostolic College was duly started in complete numbers on the day which had before been finally anticipated as the "Day of the Lord," when He should come, or at least which should be memorable for some mighty event in His Dispensation. Their Twelve-fold Unity had been repeatedly insisted upon by "prophecies" taken at the time for Heavenly inspiration, and had been pointed out as indispensable for the valid action of the Apostolate. In 1840, Mackenzie withdrew. In 1845, Dalton virtually retired for a long time. Two others refused to seal. And now, in 1851, work in the Tribes abroad seemed so hopeless, that several of the Apostles flagged in their energy, and had given up attempts to exercise their office in their appointed sphere. Meanwhile, nearly all had been accomplished of late years through the energy of one man. The Second Apostle had resumed his worldly duties in the English Parliament. Cardale had practically almost concentrated the Apostolic College in himself.

During all these efforts, the results of sixteen years' work were sadly small. The Sect, which advanced such high claims to rule the whole of Christendom, was hardly known, away from those comparatively few persons with whom the members came in contact. As far as making their cause and principles known, Irving was worth more than the whole Apostolate, with their Ministers into the bargain. If they had made way since his time, they had not advanced much: and none of this advance can be credited to the institution of an Apostolate, apart

from the natural leadership of the Sect. If these results are compared with what occurred during the life-time of the first Twelve, the contrast is most striking. By this time "Failure" was virtually written in large letters over the name of the "Restored Apostolate."

CHAPTER XIV.

THE LATTER DAYS OF THE APOSTLES.

MORE than twenty years had now elapsed since the first outbreak of prophecy, and more than sixteen since the Twelve Apostles were separated. Those who were appointed were men advanced in life. When therefore their adherents found that though the Lord had not come, as had been so often expected, all the Twelve remained alive, they concluded that the lives of the Apostles were being miraculously preserved. And the fond hope spread throughout the Body, that none of the Twelve would die, but that they would remain with the faithful till all were caught up to meet the Lord in the air. They would thus fulfil their mission by closing this dispensation, as the first Twelve had inaugurated it. For they doubted not that the Lord would soon arrive, inasmuch as by the voice of prophecy an Elias Ministry headed by Apostles had been solemnly sent to prepare the way before Him.

The feeling prevalent amongst the Members at this time is set forth in the following words from the end of a Tract published in 1854:—"This generation will not pass away until all these things are fulfilled ; that is, all

this generation will not see death. Many who have been gathered and sealed unto the day of redemption, and many more who may yet be gathered, will be changed after the dead in Christ are raised, and together with them will be caught away to meet the Lord in the clouds, and see the fulfilment of all these things. Who these may be no one can tell. Many have fallen asleep, and many more may follow them, yet we believe that the word that has been spoken of the Lord will be verified, and that all will not sleep or pass away before His coming. Twenty years have passed away already, and twenty more are not beyond the limits of a generation should the Lord delay His coming.”¹ But the stubborn experience of facts has belied these ardent expectations. Though the Lord has not yet appeared, the forty years are more than past, and nearly all the Apostles have gone to their rest.

The year 1852 witnessed a further development in the worship of the Community. In the opening of the year, a formal request was presented to the Apostles that the use of lights and incense might be sanctioned in the celebration of daily worship. The employment of symbols in Christian worship had already been introduced by the use of water and oil as well as of the sacramental Elements. Witness was borne, as it was found, by the practice in every branch of the Catholic Church from the fourth century downwards, with the exception of a partial absence of these symbols in the last 300 years. Besides the Latin and Greek Communions, lights

¹ *The Chronology of the Scriptures*, London : Goodall, 1854, p. 48.

and incense were found among Copts, Syrians, and Nestorians. In the typical service of the Tabernacle, ordained by Almighty God Himself, these symbols had been introduced. Mr. Cardale had treated this subject in his *Lectures on the Liturgy*, and prophetic utterances had been given. It was considered that there should be two lights at the Altar as emblems of "the presence of God in His two witnesses, Apostle and Prophet," and seven lights before the Altar to show "His presence with the particular Church in the ministry of the sevenfold Eldership,¹—the true candlestick." The one light which had been before kept always burning before the Altar, was supposed "to testify to Him as verily present in the Sacrament of His Body and Blood." The meaning assigned to Incense is expressed in the two Incense Anthems:—

"Incense and a pure offering, O Lord of Hosts,
Thy Holy Church presents unto Thy Name ;
And when the cloud covers the Mercy Seat,
Look forth upon Thy people, and speak Peace."

Again—

"Upon the Golden Altar before Thy Throne,
Let the sweet incense from the Angel's hand continually ascend ;
So shall the words of our mouth, and the meditations of our heart,
Be acceptable in Thy sight, O Lord, our Strength and our Redeemer."

When the petition was received, directions were sent to the Angels to ascertain the feelings and opinions of the Members of the Body in the different congregations. The report made was considered to be sufficiently satisfactory to allow of permission being granted for the

¹ *Three Discourses on Symbols used in Worship.* London : Bosworth, 1874, p. 5.

introduction of these two additional symbols in worship. But their use was not yet made compulsory. They were therefore first used in the Churches not only in London but in the country also at Pentecost in this year 1852. It will be observed that in the case of one of them an old custom was reintroduced with a new meaning.

At this time Mr. Carlyle was hard at work in North Germany. He went about collecting and superintending congregations of converts. Amongst these was Herr Thiersch, the Church Historian, whose first volume was translated by Mr. Carlyle; and Herr Charles J. T. Böhm, Author of *Lights and Shadows in the Present Condition of the Church*, and a Tract on the *Signs of the Times and the Coming of the Lord*. Carlyle also spent much time in studying German character. The fruits of some of these lucubrations he had before in 1845 given to the world in a thoughtful Book on the *Moral Phenomena of Germany*.

But in England the work of Evangelization was for several years carried on languidly. The Body was hardly yet thoroughly confirmed in the new course which it was now pursuing. And the tendency amongst the Members was to shrink from publicity. To press these tenets upon those who were inclined to scoff or treat them with cold disdain seemed to men of delicate and sensitive feelings about holy subjects to be not only like "putting pearls before swine," but to involve also the subjection of the several dealings of Almighty God to rude and coarse handling. And the popularization of Religion was not then in educated circles so much the

order of the day, as it has become since that time. Therefore the Evangelistic Services, such as those held in the evening at Gordon Square, were not advertised, and the efforts to convert outsiders at this period in which we have now entered may be pronounced to have been feeble.

But an event of great importance was the building and opening of the large Church in Gordon Square, London. This event was completed on Christmas Eve, 1853. The intention of building a Temple worthy of the Central Church of the Body had been conceived many years before. The scheme had been entertained and reduced to shape, when in November, 1850, one of the Deacons delivered a Discourse in Newman Street upon the project. The idea of the promoters was to build "a separate Evangelist's Chapel, for preaching to the people not yet gathered to the Lord's Work ; also an Apostle's Chapel and Council-Room, with Elders' Libraries, Vestries, &c., together with Residences for Ministers ; and lastly some institution for the poor and friendless, which, while it may enable us to minister to their wants, may afford facilities to the inmates not only for attending the daily worship of God, but for fulfilling under the Deaconesses works of piety and mercy."¹

Mr. Christopher Heath, the Angel, and the other Managers of the Church in Newman Street, being thus anxious to construct an edifice more suitable than the

¹ *On Building a Church for Divine Worship.* A discourse delivered by one of the Deacons of the Central Church, 3rd Nov., 1850, London : Goodall & Son, p. 4.

temporary structure where the wandering Congregation had taken refuge in Irving's time, to be the chief centre of worship for the Community, wished first to secure permanent possession of the building lately occupied, in which case they would have introduced important alterations and improvements. At last, "after a watchful search for years," they could find no other site besides the one in Gordon Square, where the inner temple, rather than the exterior, might in some degree be worthy of the purposes for which it was designed.¹ This site was secured, upon the condition that the building erected should be "of some architectural pretension."² The estimated cost was £30,000,³ of which £14,000 was to be laid out at once.

This condition was amply fulfilled. The Church itself is a noble building in the First Pointed, or Early English style, admirably adapted in its ample arrangements and its lofty proportions for dignified Services conducted by a large staff of Clergy, and sustained with music. It includes a handsome nave, with two spacious aisles, and an ample Choir. Behind the Altar is a Chapel in which the Apostle celebrates the Holy Eucharist before the monthly Meeting of the Seven Churches. The Clergy alone occupy the Choir, the Deacons being placed, vested, at the head of the Laity, and the Choir being curiously posted in a shallow South Transept opposite to the organ, an instrument of con-

¹ A Discourse delivered in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on the occasion of consecrating the Altar, and opening the Church for Public Worship, Christmas Eve, 1853. London: T. Bosworth, p. 5.

² *Ibid.*

³ *On Building, &c.*, p. 5.

siderable power and sweetness. The entrance on the Gordon Square side is through some Cloisters, where apartments in flats are occupied by Clergy, including Deacons, who are attached to the Church.

Some difficulty relating to the tenure of the property, and "other considerations of a temporary nature," caused the postponement of the actual Consecration. But on the day just named the Altar was consecrated, which was supposed to include the desire, when the ability should be granted, of making over the whole building formally to the service of Almighty God. According to the Discourse delivered at the opening, from which quotations have been already made, and which bears the evident traces of having been delivered with authority, it appears that circumstances imposed upon the Body a more conspicuous site than the Managers wished. A more favourable one for evangelistic and general purposes could hardly have been found.

In 1855 three members were taken away by death from the Apostolic College. The first of these was Mr. Mackenzie, the one who withdrew in 1840. It does not appear that he ever advanced anything against the validity of his original call,¹ or did anything beyond his withdrawal in opposition to the rest. But whether he ascribed their failure to a want of faith in the Church generally, or to any weakness in the individual Apostles themselves, or held some other view, it is clear that he considered their present title to office to be inadequate

¹ *Truths and Untruths respecting a Restored Apostolate*, by a clergyman. London : Thomas Bosworth, 1876, p. 4.

to their duties and responsibilities. He died without receding from the position which he took upon the return of the Twelve from abroad.

Mr. Carlyle's labours in North Germany had seriously impaired his health, and he sank during this year. He had been of great use to the Body. A man of keen powers of mind, and thoroughly devoted to the cause, he had laboured hard both personally and with his pen. He was the author of *Pleadings with my Mother, The Church in Scotland, Warnings to the Unwary against Spiritual Evil*, and other small works.¹

Mr. W. Dow also, the Apostle for Russia, died in the same year. He is the author of a Volume of Sermons, one of which, on *The Elements of Unity*, was republished in 1865. He appears to have been an earnest man of fair ability: but he had an impossible task before him in being set to undertake the conversion of the inhabitants of all the Russias. "In Spain and Greece, as in Russia, scarcely one" has listened and obeyed, said Mr. Caird in 1867.² It was therefore vain to enquire whether he had made up his number of 12,000 sealed ones in his Tribe.

A new difficulty was thus imported into the work.

¹ A collection of Mr. Carlyle's Works has been lately published (London: Thomas Bosworth, 198, High Holborn), containing *The Moral Phenomena of Germany, On the Sacrament of Baptism, The One Catholic Supremacy, The Door of Hope for Britain, The Door of Hope for Christendom, Apostles given, lost, and restored, The Office of the Paraclete in the Prayers of the Church, On Symbols in Worship, The Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia, Warnings to the Unwary against Spiritual Evil, Shall Turkey live or die? Pleadings, &c.*

² *An Address on the Instant Coming of the Lord, &c.*, by W. R. Caird. London: T. Bosworth, 1867.

As long as all the Members of the College were alive, hope told her flattering tale. Mr. Mackenzie might come back, all might work together, and signs and wonders might be vouchsafed at the close of this dispensation, and the number of the 144,000 might be made up. But now death stepped in when the work was not half accomplished. Must the Members surrender their faith, or what could be the explanation? The belief that generally obtained at one time in the Community is broached in the following words:—"One of these Apostles died expressing his full assurance that God had further work for him to do; and several ministers, on their death-beds, have expressed a similar conviction. In connection with this fact, we were taught that the translated saints will not be idle any more than those who are raised from the dead. They will be as the angels in Heaven, and the vision may then be realized of angels ascending and descending on the Son of Man; coming to the succour of the saints of God in the midst of their tribulation."¹ These ideas, thus introduced at Mr. Dow's death, were gradually developed, till it was widely believed in course of time throughout the Body, as will be shown afterwards, that the dead Apostles would seal the faithful in the next world.

About this time a controversy arose which for the time lifted Irvingism out of the obscurity into which it had fallen for some years.

The opening of the handsome church in Gordon Square had made the Catholic Apostolic Church much

¹ Norton's *Restoration*, p. 185.

more generally known. The architectural features alone of that handsome building attracted visitors, and people were, as was natural, induced to enquire into the pretensions of a Religious Community which had erected so grand a temple for their worship. The result was that their tenets made some way amongst those who in the English Church had not the heart to fight the uphill battle for the Catholic Faith against the violent and obstinate prejudices of ultra-Protestantism and Erastianism. Amongst the Clergymen who were thus drawn away was a Curate working under the Rev. W. E. R. Bennett, the zealous and well-known Vicar of Frome-Selwood.

The result of the enquiry that arose upon the discovery of that Clergyman's proclivities was a series of papers on Irvingism in a Monthly Periodical entitled *The Old Church Porch*, which had just been commenced. The leading subject of this Periodical was "The Church's Broken Unity," which embraced a long series of articles upon Dissenting Bodies, afterwards published in a separate Volume. In these articles "Presbyterianism" led the way, but more as an introduction to "Irvingism," which appeared to be a subject of the day. In the treatment of the latter subject, Mr. Bennett was assisted by the powerful pen of a leading theologian. The attack and the reply made too much stir amongst the Members of the Catholic Apostolic Church not to demand particular notice in any sketch of the history of the Body. The materials then at hand besides the *Chronicle* were far from ample. Oral teaching had been generally adopted,

and since Irving's time the rulers of the Body appear to have shown the same chariness in supplying information that marks them now. But Mr. Baxter's works upon the rise of the Sect were procurable, and were in the hands of the writers, with some others of a similar character.

Out of these a most powerful exposure was made of the weakness and inconsistency which attended the early origin of the Sect. Forty-three instances of the failure of prophecies were given, besides a mention of seventeen more. The prophetical claims were the part chiefly assailed, in connection with which the arrogated gifts of tongues were refuted by a close examination of the events that occurred on the great Day of Pentecost.

To this assault a reply was made in a "Letter on Certain Statements contained in some late Articles in *The Old Church Porch*, entitled 'Irvingism,' addressed to a Minister of the Catholic Church," published in 1855. It is no secret that the author of this letter, thus published anonymously, was Mr. Cardale. Any enquirer who wished to judge impartially would of course read both the attack and the defence. What then would be the result presented to him upon such a perusal?

After he had risen from reading the articles containing the charges brought against the Catholic Apostolic Church, his thoughts would probably take the following form, a form which thoughts have actually assumed under the circumstances described :—Here is an assault delivered with great power of learning and logic, and as appears at first sight with fatal effect. Supposing that nevertheless this is really a Divine Revelation, how

crushing must the reply be. For it is evident that if the system assailed be sound and good, it must be only partially known to the Authors of the attack. And from various reasons this would appear to be the case, and especially because, as they represent the system, we can hardly imagine men of education and learning adopting and maintaining it. On first appearance attacks against truth have often appeared to be dangerous and even fatal, till the answer set matters right. Suppose that St. Paul had met with such an assault as this, with what power would he have met it. What a flood of Divine light would he have poured in. How he would have lifted the subject up to a higher plateau. How he would have attracted the minds and hearts of men by his convincing proof, his copiousness of knowledge, his enthusiastic and loving descriptions, and unfolding of lofty motives. The history of Catholic Truth in late years, as well as in the early days of the Church, has abundantly shown that assault brings out the true lineaments of the Faith in developed, influential, and attractive form.

Such are the thoughts with which a competent examiner, knowing something of past history and anxious to make a candid examination, would take into his hands Mr. Cardale's reply to the charges advanced by the writers in *The Old Church Porch*. What does he discover upon perusal?

The "Letter to a Minister" is written with conspicuous ability. Arguments are put tellingly, and are marshalled with striking skill. The most is made of them. And no opportunity is let slip by a clever advocate of weakening

his opponent's position. But when the pamphlet is finished, and the reader collects and reviews his impressions, he is surprised to find how little of positive news has been told him. If he was an enquirer into the nature of these opinions, he seems to have learnt not much more than he knew before. Surely he must have been in the hands of an English Lawyer, trained in the caution of the Courts, not of a Christian Apostle. Upon some points, perhaps, the proof has been satisfactory enough, but these are not vital points satisfying the soul, evidencing true and genuine movements of God the Holy Ghost.

The Authors of the Articles are convicted of want of acquaintance with various minor facts, such as who is "the Pillar of the Apostles," and of such as are more important, as the mode of Ordination employed. And satisfactory proof was given that the Body was not merely what Irving made it, or indeed such as he left it, and that the origin of it was not a schismatical separation from the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. But the answer to the main charge against the validity of the supposed Prophetical Gifts, both as regards the Tongues, and the forty-three non-fulfilments of Mr. Baxter's prophecies received by the Community, is palpably weak. And the discussion upon "the Office and Ministry of the Apostle," in which six pages¹ are devoted to the vindication of the coping-stone of the system, makes one wonder how any position can be defended against all comers upon grounds which may be presumed to be no stronger than they are here represented. But the chief

¹ *Letter*, pp. 23—29.

feature is the chariness with which information about the History and Doctrines of the Body is doled out. The strong ability which rings in every sentence makes us feel that all that could be said with advantage is brought forward. Though excuses are not wanting on the part of the Author for not saying more, the conclusion on laying down the pamphlet seems irresistible, that it must be a weak cause, where from caution, or management, or want of materials, so little is advanced in its favour against so powerful an attack.

This attack was, as has been said, proximately caused by the tendency of Irvingite Tenets at this time to spread amongst a portion of the Clergy of the English Church, some of whom either resigned their cures and became regular ministers, or else continued in their work whilst still embracing a faith in the Restored Apostles. At this period the unsettlement which had been caused in the minds of the High Church Party by the opposition which the great Church movement of 1833 encountered, and through the tendency of several to push newly-recovered truths to extremes, had come to a head, and the Gorham Judgment in 1851 had considerably fanned the flame. To some of these the Catholic show of Irvingism proved attractive, and the question presented itself whether they should not wholly join the Body, and work in it as duly authorized Ministers.

Amongst those who followed the latter course was the Rev. Dr. Norton, who, in a letter to the Bishop of Ripon, explained his "purposed Resignation of his present Parochial Charge." Dr. Norton had been intimately

acquainted with the commencement of the movement in Scotland in the case of the Macdonalds; so much so indeed, that he afterwards became their chronicler in a *Life of the Macdonalds*, which he gave to the world. Sharing perhaps their objections to the development in England, he stood aloof for some years, till giving up the medical profession he sought and obtained Holy Orders in the English Church. He defends his previous position as a Clergyman believing in the Apostles. "Evidently," he says, "there is no inconsistency with the position as a Clergyman in faith (*sic*) in a Restored Apostolate. It is in entire harmony with the true position of Bishops over their Clergy, and the relation of the Clergy to their Bishops and the congregations committed to their charge. If it might be so, 'far better that these grow together in the knowledge and in the ways of God, than that Priests be separated from their Bishops, and people from their Pastors.'"¹ Nevertheless, Dr. Norton resigned his "Parochial Charge," "principally because the burden of it was too great without the entire sympathy and support of his Bishop."

A few Clergy of the English Church acted like Mr. Dalton and Dr. Norton, and sought employment in the Catholic Apostolic Church. To meet such cases a special office existed in the new Liturgy. The Orders of such Clergymen are recognized, inasmuch as these people

¹ *The Restoration of Apostles and Prophets in the Catholic Apostolic Church.* A Letter to the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Ripon. By a Clergyman. London: T. Bosworth, 1854, p. 8, quoting from "A Discourse delivered at the Consecration of the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, Christmas Eve, 1853."

believe the succession of Bishops from our Lord's Apostles to be valid. But because in their eyes Bishops are of a lower grade than Apostles, they hold that the Orders conferred by Bishops do not carry the same amount of grace as orders given by Apostles. Accordingly, all Clergymen of the Church of England who are admitted to minister among them are obliged to have their Orders confirmed by the Apostle, who also adds his blessing.

This practice upon Irvingite principles is intelligible enough. Not so much so the practice which has been permitted by their authorities in the case of those who have been ordained by an Apostle seeking a renewal of Orders in the English Church. For if they have Orders conferred by the higher authority, how can they without sacrilege seek a second bestowal of what they already possess? To say nothing of their seeking, according to their own principles, from a lower power what the higher has given, any such iteration of a Rite which can be performed only once upon any individual has always been most strongly reprobated in the Catholic Church. For since the Catholic Doctrine is that the gift of Baptism, or of Confirmation, or of any of the three Orders comes from the Lord of the Church, and as such a Gift can only be granted once to each person, to seek it a second time is, to say the least, a most dangerous tampering with holy things, supposing it to have been validly conferred upon the first occasion.

But several of the English Clergy who regarded favourably the Restoration of Apostles and Prophets remained in their cures. Some of these did so under the direction

of the authorities in the Catholic Apostolic Church. One Clergyman came to an Apostle, and after hearing much about the new doctrines, professed his readiness to resign his present post, and to take regular work as a Minister. He was surprised at the reply which was made to him, thinking that a convert would be sure of being welcomed and received. "What do you propose to do about your flock at Muddington?" was the unexpected question. "Oh, I suppose I must leave them." "You must go back," said the Apostle, "and do your duty in that part of the Church in which God has placed you."

This incident is quoted by members of the Body as a proof of the large-minded Catholicity in which the Apostles set themselves to their work. They did not wish to upset the existing state of things, or to interfere with present operations. It is contended that the peculiar tenets of the Body are only an addition to the faith of Churchmen, and do not interfere with the maintenance of all that Churchmen hold. Accordingly the Apostles believed themselves to be sent as heads of the Church on earth, in order to foster all that was good, to improve where practicable, and to combine the divided branches into one compacted whole. And we must allow them full credit both for the grandeur of the conception, and for their moderation in carrying it out into execution.

But when we come to a closer examination, two fatal objections are found to lie in the way of this policy. In the first place, the tenet of a Restored Apostolate is really, as will be shown afterwards, an invasion from without into the domain of the Catholic faith, and disturbs its

duly-adjusted equilibrium. Taking the English Branch, which is the part concerned, the supremacy of the Apostles is at least as alien to her constitution as the supremacy of the Pope, and cannot be defended with as much show of appeal to the precedents of the Catholic Church. And secondly, no one can honestly minister at the altars of the Church with a secret belief, in definite and consolidated form, which contravenes the faith of the Church. Without this principle, which is strongly affirmed by the lay mind of England, healthy action is plainly impossible, though it would be inconsistent with large-minded and charitable tolerance to put it in force in the case of minor or unpronounced doubts and difficulties. And the question assumes a much stronger aspect when such a course is prescribed by an unrecognized authority claiming to be supreme.

This theory, which had grown up in the Catholic Apostolic Church, respecting the relations between themselves and those who outside their pale either did or did not recognize the pretensions of the Apostles and Prophets, had produced collisions also in America. One case in that country has been already recorded. And in 1853 a motion was made in the North Association of Litchfield County, Connecticut, that the name of the Rev. W. W. Andrews, a Congregational Minister, should be erased from the list of the members of the Association. Mr. Andrews drew up an elaborate statement to read before the Association on the occasion, and part of it was read. He had four years before resigned his place as pastor in Kent on account of

his change of opinions. Nevertheless he had continued to be in connection with the Association, and justified his continuance upon the grounds that this was "a Catholic movement for the healing of divisions and the restoration of unity, and not the building of a new sect."¹

- The decision of the question was postponed to the annual meeting in June, 1854, when it was determined that Mr. Andrews could under the circumstances no longer continue Minister.

Another case occurred in the American Church. The Rev. John S. Davenport, a Presbyterian of the "Protestant Episcopal Church," had in 1853 published a pamphlet on *The Permanency of the Apostolic Office*, which attracted attention on both sides of the Atlantic. It formed one of the sources of information on which the writers in *The Old Church Porch* relied. Mr. Davenport lived in the diocese of Western New York, and in the course of 1855 proceedings were taken by the Right Rev. Dr. Delancey, the Bishop of that diocese. It appeared that Mr. Davenport received confirmation of his orders from one of the Apostles, "attended their public worship, had partaken of their ordinances, and officiated in their services." He declined to acknowledge these admissions in writing; but he admitted that he had received the laying on of the Apostle's hands, or in other words had been sealed. In consequence of these facts, Dr. Delancey, after three months' notice, finally deposed him on the

¹ *The True Constitution of the Church and its Restoration*, read to the North Association of Litchfield County, Conn., Sept. 28, 1853, by the Rev. W. W. Andrews. New York: John Moffatt, 1854. Opening of Address.

6th of August, 1855. Mr. Davenport protested against the deposition, mainly upon the grounds that the Catholic Apostolic Church was no sect, and that therefore in joining that Body, and in receiving their ordinances, he had not separated from the Church in America. But in the Letter containing his protest he acknowledges the chief facts upon which the Bishop took action. His case was the stronger because for more than two years he had been without a cure, in consequence of the Bishop refusing to recommend him to a parish.¹

About this period table-turning and spirit-rapping came into vogue, and much general interest was awakened about them. The movements of tables and other bodies were generally regarded as unquestionably remarkable phenomena. In the Catholic Apostolic Church, and by many people who did not agree in the peculiar tenets of these people, these phenomena were supposed to be caused by evil spirits, and an additional argument was drawn from them strengthening the probability of the near approach of the Lord's Coming, and showing the necessity of an outpouring of the true Spirit in the face of so much that was wrong. That many close observers after careful examination came to the conclusion that these results were produced by natural causes not of a very recondite character, but acting in a very remarkable way, is too well known to require more than a passing notice. But from the Irvingite point of view, much

¹ *A Letter to the Right Rev. Wm. H. Delancey, D.D., from John S. Davenport, Presbyterian, showing cause why sentence of deposition should not be pronounced against him.* New York : John Moffat, 1855.

reference has been made to all this Spiritualism, including Mesmerism, as indicating an appearance of the action of evil spirits, which might reasonably be expected to accompany the manifestation of genuine Spiritual power.

In the year 1855 expectation was rife, inasmuch as it included the twentieth anniversary of the Separation of the Apostles. But still more in 1856, as then twenty-one years, or thrice seven, had elapsed since that time so memorable in the annals of the Community. That period was spoken of as "the Crisis,"¹ and all things that were gloomy both in the world and in the Church were marshalled into one assemblage, and presented to the anxious sight of such as had come to the conclusion that the end was fast approaching.

In this year an address, or smaller Testimony, was issued by "the Angels ordained over Churches in England by the Apostles of the Lord, with the Priests, Deacons, and People under their charge," "to all who profess the Faith of Christ, and especially to the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, and as many as exercise rule or ministry in the Church of God." In this document, besides a description of the leading Tenets and Organization of the Body, a strong allusion is made to the state of things prevailing at the time. "The events of 1848," they say, "events in some respects unparalleled even in the first French Revolution, and reproducing in the principal capitals and countries of Europe what was then confined to one, have left behind them fearful presages of the instability of all existing empires and

¹ *Tracts for the Church in 1856.* "The Crisis."

dynasties. The tumult and uproar among the nations, as of the waters of a mighty flood, have not yet subsided; and the elements of revolution, for a moment repressed, are prepared in the bosom of society for a further outbreak. Throughout the vast commonwealth of the baptized, confusion works its ruinous way; while lukewarmness and treachery chill the hearts and unnerve the hands that should man the breach and turn the battle to the gate. . . Surely the COMING OF THE SON OF MAN is at hand, as the lightning which shines from the east to the west; for the earth groans under oppression and wrong, and the face of the Spiritual Heaven is covered with blackness."

Confirmation was given to these gloomy forebodings in the next year by the horrors of the Indian Rebellion, in which so many people lost relations, and so many more were anxious on behalf of friends shut up at Lucknow or elsewhere, or clinging with desperate tenacity to some remote post. The day of National Humiliation—Wednesday, October 7, 1857—was not allowed to pass by without an application being extracted to events supposed to be immediately impending.¹

The year 1859 witnessed the death of another Apostle, who was soon to be followed to the grave by a fourth. Mr. Perceval, son, as has been related of the Prime Minister who was shot by Bellingham in the lobby of the House of Commons, and the chief compiler of the

¹ *A Sermon preached in the Catholic Apostolic Church, Gordon Square, on Wednesday, October 7, 1857, the day appointed for National Humiliation.* London: Bosworth & Harrison, 1857.

Testimony which was delivered in 1836 to King William and his Privy Councillors, died on 16th September. Miss Hall, one of the first prophetesses, though she afterwards denied the fact of her having received a gift, was in the opening of the movement governess in Mr. Perceval's family. He himself had been in Parliament before he became an Apostle, but did not, like Mr. Drummond, seek re-election in his later years. He was Apostle for Italy; but except that a Priest here and there looked favourably upon his message, he was unable to make any progress. The roll of his 12,000 was lamentably short when death stepped in and stopped all further efforts. He was a man greatly respected; quite sincere and thorough in the work which he had undertaken; endowed with respectable, if not brilliant abilities. His chief work was the Testimony already mentioned. It ends as follows:—

“Gather yourselves together, yea, gather together, O nation not desired, before the decree bring forth—before the day pass as chaff—before the fierce anger of the Lord come upon you—before the day of the Lord's anger come upon you! Seek ye the Lord, all ye meek of the earth, which have wrought His judgments. Seek righteousness, seek meekness: it may be ye shall be hid in the day of the Lord's anger.

“The Testimony of the Lord your God against the land—the warning of His judgments—and the message of His mercy.

“By the hand of your very unworthy Brother,

“And your faithful, humble Servant,

“SP. PERCEVAL.”

He was followed in the course of about five months by his Colleague in Parliament as well as in the Apostolic College, Henry Drummond. Mr. Drummond had performed his Parliamentary duties up to the end of the previous session ; and only six months before his death made an apostolical visitation of the Churches in Switzerland, and laid his hands upon about 200 persons there.¹ At a previous visitation, five Roman Catholic Priests were sealed by him, having before been ejected from their benefices because they professed their faith in the restored Apostles.²

He had been a prominent personage in Parliament. Not only to those who attended in the House, but to all who were in the habit of reading the reports of the debates, Mr. Drummond was well known. The polished incisiveness of his style, his plain-spoken honesty, and the vivid peculiarity of his speeches, arising partly from his standpoint as an uncompromising Tory and an Apostle of a new creed, and partly from the fact that he was often led by his independence to express what bystanders saw to be demanding expression, when the conventional bonds of other speakers led them to omit or not to observe some important points essential to complete discussion, — these features always drew attention to Mr. Drummond's speeches. But he lacked that moderation which would have made people follow him more. They were more interested in what he said, than persuaded by it. He was a man of very popular

¹ Norton's *Restoration*, p. 186.

² Ibid.

manners, much prized as a companion. He was zealous in the performance of his duties, so he deemed them, as an Apostle, though, as has been already remarked, his Parliamentary life was inconsistent with an adequate realization of the vast responsibilities involved in the high office to which he laid claim. He was very valuable to his fellow-members, as being by wealth, and by the business habits and abilities which he inherited and developed, the "financial backbone" of their System. Much also of the grandeur of their worship is due to his high tastes and aims. His unyielding firmness, added to the strong will of Mr. Cardale, did much to sustain their fortunes in critical times. He was also a Prophet: and when after his death his Parliamentary speeches were published, under the editorial care of Lord Lovaine, the present Duke of Northumberland, reviewers observed that they contrasted remarkably in terseness and strength with his vapid prophetic utterances which had been recorded. He was unquestionably a remarkable man, and his loss was irreparable.

Only six active Apostles were now left for the present, for Dalton was engaged in his Living, and did not yet consider himself at liberty to act openly with the rest. The prospect was not hopeful; for there was no perceptible increase in numbers, if any increase at all. Matters were in a dull state. The deaths of at least four Apostles, before the Lord came or the roll of the Sealed was completed, was a serious blow to their declared principles. Yet they had met with troubles quite as great as these before; for the Body

was compact, and their spirit excellent. The Apostles might say :—


“O socii (neque enim ignari sumus ante malorum),
O passi graviora,—dabit Deus his quoque finem.”

“Comrades and friends ! for ours is strength,
Has brooked the test of woes ;
O worse-scarred hearts ! these wounds at length
The Lord will heal, like those.”¹

¹ Altered from Conington's version of Virg. *Æn.*, I. 202, 203.

CHAPTER XV.

THE LATTER DAYS OF THE APOSTLES (*Continued*).

 HE remaining Apostles now braced themselves up, and kept their people together in the constant expectation of the Lord's Coming. The period of thirty years from the separation of the Apostles was now insisted on as a probable one for the beginning of the great Epoch. As Joseph's dreams and visions of greatness did not take effect till he was thirty years old ; and as David had reached the same time of life ere he was crowned in Hebron ; and our Lord did not enter upon His Ministry till He was about thirty years of age ; and the time of the consecration of Jewish priests was from thirty to fifty ; so the Members of the Community were bidden repeatedly by the voice of prophecy to remember the longer period of thirty years.¹ To 1865 therefore they now began, after 1860 closed, to look forward ; and that time seemed the more critical because the calculations of many people without the Body, as Dr. Cumming, and inside it, as Mr. Sitwell, made the year 1866 to be the close of the period of 1260 years commencing with the decree of Phocas in

¹ Norton's *Restoration*, p. 188.

A.D. 606, which was regarded as the commencement of the Papal sway.¹

At this time a Book was published under the title of *The New Apostles, or Irvingism, its History, Doctrines, and Practices, considered by the Light of Scripture and Reason*, which was the first considerable attack, after the powerful Articles in *The Old Church Porch*, that had been made upon the Community. The historical part of this book was chiefly founded upon the *Narrative*. It provoked several replies,² which were somewhat elaborate, but did not add much to what was already to be gleaned from the existing literature upon the subject.

In 1860 Mr. Dalton gave up the Living of Frithelstock, in Devonshire, which he had held since 1856, and undertook active Apostolic Work. Several Sermons and a small Treatise on the subjects which he had in hand issued from his pen.³ The charge of Scotland, which was vacant owing to Mr. Drummond's death, was entrusted to him; and in various other ways, besides overlooking his own Tribe, he worked with his Colleagues till his death.

The year was now approaching, to which they chiefly

¹ *Creation and Redemption*, p. 282.

² For example, *The True Revival of the Church of Christ, and her Hope in the Last Days. A Letter addressed to a Clergyman with reference to a Book entitled "The New Apostles."* London: Bosworth & Harrison, 1860. *A Reply to "New Apostles, or Irvingism," &c.*, by one who has been twenty-five years a Minister in the Catholic Apostolic Church. London: Bosworth & Harrison, 1861, &c.

³ *Apostleship*, 1864; *Pentecost*, 1864; *The Fourfold Ministry*, 1866; *The Office of Bishop under Apostles, and the Office of Bishop without Apostles*, 1866. The Treatise was on *What is the Church?* 1863. All were published in London by Messrs. Bosworth & Harrison.

looked as being likely to bring with it the end of the present Dispensation. As 1866 drew near, the utterances of the Prophets became more ominous. The deaths of several Apostles made the Members of the Body imagine all the more that the Lord had summoned them to accompany Him on His Return, and to do work in the next world preparatory to His approach. Accordingly, as these Apostles had not been able each to seal his quota of 12,000 before his death, the belief spread very widely through the Body that their sealing would be carried on in Paradise. Several utterances of the Prophets were to this effect, though the chief authorities evinced considerable caution in dealing with the subject.

Indeed a great difficulty had presented itself. The teaching upon Sealing had been exact and definite. No less a number than 144,000 were to be sealed before the Lord should come, and each Apostle was to seal 12,000 for his Tribe. The principles of the passage in the Revelation, expressed in precise terms, and the principles of the Restored Apostolate, could be reconciled in no other way. This interpretation therefore had been adopted and proclaimed unhesitatingly when the twelve were still alive, and a bright prospect was supposed to lie before them. But now more than half the College had been removed by death, and the tale of the sealed was lamentably short. So that in order to find a way of escape from the difficulty, they resorted to the strange supposition before stated, that those Apostles who had not made up the number for their Tribes would continue their office of sealing in the next world. It is evident

that though places in our Lord's train might imaginably be thus conferred, yet that operations beyond the grave could not possibly deliver people upon earth from the great tribulation, which it was believed would come upon the unsealed in this life after the Lord's arrival. Nevertheless this strange notion largely prevailed for some time, though it is now exploded.¹

By the time that the critical period of 1866 arrived, three more Apostles had departed to their rest. Amongst them was Mr. Tudor. He had spent some time in India, which had been combined with Poland as his Tribe, probably owing to some fanciful analogy which was supposed to exist between the two countries. His labours in that climate at an advanced age seriously impaired his health. He has been mentioned already as the Editor of *The Morning Watch*, and was one of the most learned men, if not the most learned man, in the Body. He had spent much time in the study of prophecy. Some of his later works were *Six Lectures on the Apocalypse*, 1861, a *Treatise On the Primeval Language of Man, and on Alphabetic Writing*, published in 1860. In *The Primeval Language of Man* Mr. Tudor advances the opinion that Hebrew was the original language of the human race before the confusion of Babel, and that it will after the Second Advent become again the universal language of the earth. His Lectures

¹ *Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism), *its Pretensions and Claims*, &c. by a late Member. London: George John Stevenson, 1872, p. 12. *Ritualism, Romanism, and the Catholic Apostolic Church*, by the same Author. London: G. J. Stephenson, 1873, p. 4.

on the Apocalypse are an exposition of the Irvingite view of that mysterious Book. He died in 1862.

The next of the Apostles who died about this time was Mr. Sitwell,^a who was also a student that dived deep into the mysteries of the Apocalypse. His chief work is *Creation and Redemption*, which was published soon after his death, and is looked upon as one of the chief exponents of the general views of the Body. His efforts in Spain met with admitted failure. He appears to have been a sincere and earnest man, and did some valuable work for the Community in the north of England, within reach of Barmoor Castle in Northumberland, his ancestral seat. He died in 1865.

Another who died not long after this period was Mr. King-Church. He never occupied a very prominent position, nor was there much success in his Tribe, though a few adherents existed in Denmark and Holland, and a very small number in Belgium. He is said to have been one of the two who declined to seal.¹

And Mr. Taplin, who had been instrumental in forming a considerable part of the System of these people, and had contributed especially the chief ideas about the Tabernacle, had died in 1862.

Very ominously therefore did the year 1866 open. The Evangelists and the other Ministers were more than usually active. In the previous year, a document upon *The Character of our Present Testimony and Work* had been put out, "addressed"—so the title-page tells us—"to the Churches in London and elsewhere in England." It

¹ I cannot vouch for this.

evidently issued from the pen of Mr. Cardale, and addressed the Angels and Deacons in a tone of authority. The object of this address appears to have been an exhortation and encouragement to all to prepare themselves for a grand effort during the coming time. The year itself was marked by a number of Sermons in which the Coming of the Lord was represented as immediate with more than usual confidence. Thus "An Address on the Instant Coming of our Lord, and the Preparation of the Church for His Coming," was delivered at St. James's Hall by Mr. Symes, and afterwards published in several successive editions. Again, Mr. Layton, the Angel at Islington, delivered two addresses at Myddleton Hall upon "The Instant Coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the only Preparation by which the Church can be enabled to meet Him."

At Edinburgh, and in other places in Scotland, Mr. McClelland delivered an Address on "The End of this Dispensation and the Immediate Second Coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the only Preparation of the Church to meet Him." And at Glasgow an Address on "The Instant Coming of the Lord, and the Preparation of the Church for His Coming," was delivered in the City Hall, in January, 1867, by Mr. Caird. The titles of these addresses sufficiently explain them. They are earnest appeals to the outside world to prepare for the Lord's Coming, which is represented as immediately impending, by receiving the Lord's Apostles, as the remainder of the twelve are termed. In the addresses the System of the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church

is explained according to the varied choice of the several authors.

This year was also prolific in other works. Among them we find a Sermon on *Prayer*, in answer to Professor Tyndall, by Mr. Groser ; a Pamphlet on *The True Position and Hope of the Catholic Apostolic Church*, being a letter to a Clergyman ; a Treatise on *Christian Unity and its Recovery*, by Mr. Davenport ; a Sermon on *Babylon the Great*, by Mr. Böhm, a German convert ; a letter to the present Archbishop of Dublin on *The Parable of the Labourers in the Vineyard* ; and a brochure on *The Divine Remedy for the Lawlessness of the Last Days*, by Mr. Andrews. And a Coadjutor Apostle was sent to Australia on a mission in 1866, with Mr. Nash, the Prophet at Bishopsgate, as his Companion in the mission.

Under strong views which were held amongst these people about that period as being especially the time when the Lord was expected, we cannot wonder at this activity. Supposing it to be really true that the Lord were indeed coming at any given time, all faithful believers would sacrifice almost everything else at such a prospect. Nor is there reason to suppose that, even under the weight of past discouragement at the very small number of really pious and learned people who ever adopted these peculiar views, the Members of the Body failed in zeal and energy. It was a most solemn time to them. And they did what they could as a Body both for their own preparation, and for the preparation of other people.

Still even then troubles beset them. In a Sermon published the next year by the Rev. George Morris on *The Inner Life, its increasing Importance*, we find what was virtually a protest against the cold Ecclesiasticism which prevailed largely throughout the Body. Those incessant preachings and lectures about Apostles and Prophets and Liturgies were only too apt to land the soul on an arid plain away from Him in Whom alone all goodness and true rest is centred. From the unnatural activity of the year 1866, and from the undue stress laid especially at that anxious time upon mere ordinances apart from the Lord Jesus Christ, and away from Almighty God, seems to date what has been termed with reference to this Body "the scepticism of its close."¹ Since then, especially, the prophetic influence, which at least had life about it, has been the more kept down. The fact that the natural career of Irvingism had then been logically worked out, and that its central doctrine and motive, that the Lord was to come in the generation which heard Irving, had been proved to be unfounded by the inexorable advance of time, acted upon the Body. Old age had set in, though it retained several vigorous features of earlier life.

Amongst the latter must be reckoned a greater activity in evangelizing efforts. At one time scarce anything was done beyond the ordinary routine for bringing in fresh converts. Advertisements of Services were not made. For several years proselytizing almost stood still. But later on in the history of the Community,

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 55.

the removal of older men who had lost the fire and energy of their youth led to a succession of fresh blood into old places. This cause again seems to have produced another result. The older men who had worked out the problems involved were more familiar with, and more at home in, the proofs of them when demanded by outsiders; but inasmuch as they had laboriously carried them to their conclusions, they were conscious of the difficulties which had been surmounted. But the younger Ministers who now conduct evangelizing operations appear to be less free with their proofs, and more profuse in strong dogmatic asseveration. Resting upon their predecessors and upon the Apostolic College, which has in their eyes contracted the venerableness of age, they assume a lofty tone of warning and denunciation, grounded upon scarce anything beyond strong assertions that these men are real Apostles and Prophets, and that the work is really God's Work.

Another change has been gradually introduced in the emotional side of the System becoming less forward and influential. In earlier days the Prophets used commonly, or at least frequently, to prophesy at the Holy Communion. Of late years that has been discouraged. The Prophets have been more and more kept down, and the strong rule of the higher authorities asserted.

Besides the vacancies left by death in the roll of the Apostles, several others of the chief offices have been vacated in the last few years. Taplin, the Pillar of the Prophets, made way for Mr. Prentice, at one time an officer in the East India Company's Navy. Mr. Place's

death brought first Dr. Bayford, and afterwards Mr. Hooper to the head of the Evangelists. And the fourth Pillar, Dr. Thompson, dying lately left for long a vacant place in the supervision of the Pastors. Many other posts of a lower grade changed hands in like manner. The inevitable consequence has been that fresh leaders have risen to the top, and that alteration has spread more or less almost along the entire front.

For there is yet another change in policy which requires notice. The present generation of Irvingites are very energetic in making capital out of an exaggeration of difficulties found in the Church of England. They parade the differences between High Church, and Low Church, and Broad Church, and the Ritualistic School. They press their appeals by representing in greatly-enlarged proportions our want of unity of sentiment as a reason for submitting to the new Apostles. They would confine every one in the English Church to the narrowest interpretation of the Rubrics, and contend that no Churchman may use any phrase which is not found in the Prayer-book. Whilst at the same time they would squeeze out of the formularies of the English Church evidence of a tendency towards Restored Apostles and Prophets, and encourage people holding this tenet to remain in their places even as beneficed Clergymen in the English Church. This attitude appears to have become gradually more and more decided, since the lapse of the expected crisis in 1866 left the immediate expectation of our Lord's Second Advent weakened as the central spring of action in the Body.

About the opening of this period the Ritualistic struggle in the Church was beginning to acquire its full intensity and force. Reference was made to this in a Pamphlet on *Bible Ritualism* published in 1867, in which also a strong rebuke, not by the bye undeserved, was administered to those Erastians who unmindful of the spiritual nature of the Church would settle matters by a temporal Act of Parliament. And the position of Churchmen, who hold the teaching of the Apostles and yet continue in their ministrations, had been supported in the year 1865 by a Pamphlet on *The Church of England in her Liturgy or Prayer-book Catholic and Apostolic : Catholic, not as possessing, but seeking to possess, all Catholic Doctrine and Discipline : Apostolic, not as possessing, but as seeking and desiring, the primitive and perfect Ministries of the Church of Christ*. The character of the argument of this remarkable Tract will be given afterwards, when the relations between the so-called Catholic Apostolic Church and the Church of England are described. The Author, who signed himself R. B. and dated from Liverpool,—a Minister since dead,—attempts to prove in effect that we of the Church of England have been using her formularies little thinking that they imply in undeveloped tendency, and in real though unsatisfied longing, the new doctrines advanced by this Sect.

The year 1868 witnessed the introduction of two more points of ritual observance. It will be remembered that in 1846 a wish had been expressed by some for the use of holy water, but that the introduction of it was

delayed for the present. But in 1868 a convert from the Roman Catholics, who had in that Communion become accustomed to the use of holy water, desired to have it for his own sake. The question was taken into consideration, and the Apostles determined to introduce this adjunct into their Churches generally, and especially into their own Chapel. Holy water had indeed been before sparingly used under the sanction of the Apostles.¹

The nature of the other observance was as follows:—The Holy Sacrament consecrated on the Lord's Day previous was removed after the new consecration upon the succeeding Lord's Day: for the Sacrament was reserved. No special solemnity had been observed upon this occasion. Now a prayer was introduced to be offered up by the Angel or presiding Minister, with a response to be made by the people. Mr. Cardale delivered a discourse on the occasion, in which he explained the meaning of the two ceremonial observances, going especially at length into the notices of water under the Law and in the rest of the Bible. Some of his words are remarkable, as shewing the relation which the Apostles are supposed to bear to the prophetic utterances in this Body of men:—"The Lord has lately and frequently warned His Servants, by words uttered in the midst of the congregation in which they preside and minister, that the time for their Ministry is short; and has called upon them to perfect and supply the things

¹ *Discourse on Holy Water, and the Removal of the Sacrament on the Lord's Day.* Printed for the use of the Churches in England, 1868.

which were lacking. The meaning of these words, I must for myself acknowledge, was not apparent to me. The Apostles had not hitherto apprehended that the use of Holy Water, however profitable when practised intelligently and in faith, was an essential part of the order of God's house: nor, consequently, had they supposed that they were called upon to set an example of this observance in their Chapel. And although, with regard to the removal of the Sacrament from the altar, they had for some time desired that it should be done with greater solemnity and reverence, yet it had been found difficult to devise the proper mode of effecting it: nor had they been led to perceive any such *essential* deficiency in this respect, as that they were *imperatively* called to supply it. The Lord is wiser than man! By the words of the Prophets he has given us light: and in that light we have been able to discern that there are deficiencies which it is our duty to supply, and also to see the form and manner in which they should be supplied."¹

About this time a question arose in the Body respecting the position of the Prophets both generally and in each Church. The relations of Prophets to the rest of the Body and especially to the Apostles had been constantly fruitful of troubles, which either smouldered in secret or shewed themselves above the surface. On the one hand, if the Lord really spoke through the Prophets, why should they not be always listened to? And on the other, if their utterances were only received when they were decided by other people to be valid, did

¹ *Discourse, &c.*, p. 18.

He speak through them at all? The Apostles attempted to steer between this Scylla and Charybdis.

In 1868 this difficulty again came out, and Mr. Cardale delivered a short Discourse on "Prophecy and the Ministry of the Prophet in the Christian Church," which was afterwards "printed for the use of the Churches in England." The leading principle of this Discourse, to which allusion will be made afterwards, is that the gift of prophecy is given generally to the Church, and is exercised by the Prophet only in deference to the Church, and within his own "border," without interfering with the provinces of other Ministers. Prophets in the Universal Church are subject to the Apostles; and Prophets in any particular Church are to be strictly subordinate to the Angel of that Church. The general principle which underlies this teaching, though not unfolded in Mr. Cardale's Discourse, was characteristic of the hard form into which the Doctrine of the Incarnation is stiffened in this Body. The Holy Ghost, they say, Who speaks by the Prophets, though He is in the Church as God, is only so as the Spirit of the Man Christ. Now the Angel is the ruler of the particular Church for the Man Christ, and therefore controls the Spirit of the Man Christ in the Prophet. Such is the teaching which indeed requires an excuse even for describing it. Mr. Cardale must have felt that the trouble at the time was considerable, for he goes so far as to say:—"No doubt all these ideas of border and limits and rules are quite contrary to the notions ordinarily entertained concerning Prophets. But however

difficult it may be to explain, they are nevertheless true as regards Prophets in the Christian Church.”¹ Indeed this trouble led in time to the return of at least one who was highly esteemed amongst his Co-Religionists to his place in the Church of England.

This struggle between the more emotional part of the system and the strong and stern government of the Apostles, which now in effect mainly centred in Mr. Cardale, continued for some time. “The Prophets—they are all mad,” said one Minister. “The Prophets are a dreamy, do-nothing kind of people,” said another. A third :—“If we were all like the Prophets, given up to devotions and meditations, not much work would be done.”² The tendency has been more and more towards neglect of the prophetical influence. If there were perhaps more active evangelical work, the Community itself had become characterized, as time passed by, by more coldness and by a greater want of earnest Christian spirit.

At a Visitation of the Seven Churches in London—for the Church of Westminster was restored in 1865—Mr. Cardale, in his “Ministry,” deplored the want of success which had attended the efforts of the Ministers. “It is vain,” he said, “to disguise it from ourselves, that the Ministers whom the Lord has sent to His Church, and the work in their hands, after nearly forty years of expostulation and entreaty, are rejected by His baptized

¹ *Discourse*, p. 9.

² *Apostolic Lordship and the Interior Life: a Narrative of Five Years' Communion with Catholic Apostolic Angels*, by William Grant. London: J. T. Hayes, 1874, p. 51.

people; they are occupied, each Sect and Church, with their own ways, and satisfied with their own devices. Therefore are we filled with fear for them in seeing that our present work is drawing to a close, for we know that, when it is finished, the time of judgment will have arrived. Such is the continual witness of the Holy Ghost in all Churches gathered under the Apostles: and the same testimony has been repeated in your hearing in the late Visitation."¹ This expression about the fewness of the Members of the Body derives further illustration from a remark made later on in the same "Ministry:"—"It is a great mistake to suppose that the accomplishment of the Lord's Work depends upon numbers: it depends upon living faith, and, so far as possible, intelligent faith."²

On the other hand, Mr. Cardale assured his hearers, that he had found not only no "sign of deterioration" in the last two years, but a "general and marked improvement;—increased and increasing diligence in the Priests and Deacons—the several measures recommended in past Visitations to the Elders and Ministers under them sedulously carried out in most of the Churches—and an increasing sense of duty and anxiety for the spiritual welfare of the flock."³ He added that "the instances of persons drawing back within the last two years had been comparatively few," and referred them to "some inadvertence in their admission through neglect of parents, or accidental circumstances, the individuals

¹ *The Fourfold Ministry*. Delivered in the Assembly of the Seven Churches in London, 7th March, 1871. Printed for Private Circulation, p. 23.

² *Ibid.* p. 27.

³ *Ibid.* p. 25.

never having received adequate instruction.”¹ Here it should be said that he touches upon a remarkable feature, viz., that a large number of the children of those who had embraced these tenets themselves and lived as Members of the Body, have on coming to years of discretion retired from communion. Whatever may have occurred in the two years immediately preceding 1871, Mr. Cardale’s account of this feature in the history of this Sect, if taken to apply to other years throughout that history, would be wholly an inadequate description.

Mr. Cardale quoted several prophetical utterances, which may be interesting as showing the character that they have assumed of late years. “He that at the beginning walked in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, and held the seven stars in His right hand; now again at the end walks in the midst of the seven golden candlesticks, and holds the seven stars in His right hand, present by the Twelve in the beginning and in the end. He comes near to look at your work. Peradventure He will no more come into your midst. Watch, therefore, lest that hour for which you look come upon you unawares.”

This was spoken at the Holy Eucharist when the seven Angels were present with their Churches. In the separate Churches the following words were severally uttered :—

“The time is near at hand, when the Voice in Benediction shall be heard no more.”

¹ *The Fourfold Ministry*. Delivered in the Assembly of the Seven Churches in London, 7th March, 1871. Printed for Private Circulation, p. 26.

Again :—" Rejoice, while yet the peace and power of the Presence of the Head abideth on earth with the Twelve."

Again :—" He searcheth all things with the eyes of love ; and with His right Hand of love He ordereth all things according to the perfection of the Father's Word."

Again, in words of warning :—" The Apostle saw the vision of Jesus, the Head of the Body, present in the Church by His Apostles : and out of His mouth went a two-edged sword—the sword of holy discipline, fulfilled by Jesus in His rulers. When that sword trembles in the hand of him who should use it, Jesus, the Head and Ruler, is dishonoured."

Lastly, for though another prophecy is given in substance, we lack the words themselves, which as specimens of the form which these " prophecies " assume, are alone of general interest :—" Jesus, present in His Apostles, blesses by them, and by them He cuts off. The time of separation hastens, when the lukewarm shall go forth and depart ; when the Lord's right Hand shall be stretched out, He shall shake the Seven Churches, and the lukewarm shall be shaken out. He shall spew them out of His mouth."

Mr. Cardale was preceded in his " Ministry " first by Dr. Thompson, the Pillar of Pastors, then by Dr. Bayford, now Pillar of Evangelists, succeeded by Mr. Prentice, who held the like post over the Prophets, Mr. Cardale himself closing the series. The subjects treated are exclusively those which are peculiarly Irvingite.

About this time, a Member in the North of England,

who had, as he describes, been "many years a Minister in the Body," retired from Communion, and in 1872 published a small volume describing the character of the Religion of his old associates.¹ Several facts are given which elucidate the manner in which the system works, and show the strong rule, characterized as despotism, which controls the Body throughout.

At the same period too occurred the case of Mr. Grant, which he has described in a book given to the world under the name of *Apostolic Lordship*. Mr. Grant, it appears, had in his early life, before he had grown up to man's estate, been induced to leave the English for the Roman Communion. Not being satisfied with his position in the latter Body, he joined the Irvingites in 1867, being captivated chiefly by their claims to Catholicity, the grandeur of their ceremonial, and their symbolical interpretation of the Old Testament. When he had been received into full Communion, and experienced, as he describes, in consequence of his trust in the Restored Apostles, "true Catholicity of heart," and then had in the Sealing felt that he had been "touched by the Spirit of God," he was rudely shocked, as was natural, by the manner in which the Ministers dealt with him afterwards. All his previous religious life was ignored, although he had been, as it appears, a man of earnest thoughtfulness, of unblemished life, and one who had left

¹ *The Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingism): its Pretensions and Claims considered in connection with the facts of its History, and the teaching of the New Testament and early Christian Antiquity*, by a late Member, many years a Member in the Body, with an Inquiry, &c. London: George John Stevenson, 1872.

the Roman Communion in great measure because the inner religious life there did not realize the ideal which originally attracted him out of the Church of England. The Elder under whom he was placed "directed" him in these words: "Wipe out, as with a sponge on a slate, all the past; begin entirely *de novo*, absolutely afresh, and read only the Liturgy and the Bible." This advice had, the Elder said, been given in another case,—indeed it coincides with the experience of the author of this work in his enquiries,—and was now proffered because the Elder believed "that it would open the way to more grace."

Mr. Grant naturally shuddered at the thought of this "spiritual suicide," as he justly terms such a severing of religious life, which forms a practical comment in legitimate development upon the teaching that the Apostles are "the link between the Lord in the Heavens and the Church on earth, which being snapped asunder by the loss of Apostles, the Church fell as a dead earthly body to the ground."¹

For although a Catholic tolerance is strongly expressed in words by the Members of this Community, and is in some respects earnestly carried out, yet it is clear that when a new start directly from Heaven is claimed, and a living authority is recognized which introduces innovations and peculiarities not found in the previous career of the Church—as they admit—for many centuries, the sole teaching which can be treated as possessing real weight is that which emanates from this new

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, pp. 14—17.

authority, and all other precepts pale in comparison with it. If the Lord of the Church is really speaking through Apostles and Prophets, and has really through them given a Liturgy to His Church, which is meant for the teaching of His people, everything else must shrink before it. And though this rough and ready way of dealing with Mr. Grant showed that the administrators of the system were unequal to carrying out its ambitious programme, yet we cannot help wondering at his acceptance of the Apostles, without foreseeing what a despotic authority they must wield if their pretensions were true. There is always an appeal to the laws of God against an exercise of power by fallible men. But if a Voice really speaks from Heaven, nothing is possible but unconditional submission. At the same time it is due to him to remark that the officialism displayed by subordinate officers might well have lain outside his calculations.

As Mr. Grant had not discerned all that was involved in his original acceptance of the claims of the Apostles, and as moreover he was a man who had evidently read and thought deeply upon religious subjects, and was possessed of strong and independent powers of thought, he was far from submitting unconditionally, and fought out every point of contention. In his own words, he "had climbed up to the reception of the Apostles by the ladder of the past, and he would not kick away the ladder, now he was where it had brought him." The Elder remained firm: but the Angel, his superior, on being appealed to, tried to soften down, but did not overrule the obnoxious teaching.

Various disputes afterwards arose between Mr. Grant and the authorities, in nearly all of which the former appears to establish—for we have only the account from his side—the incapacity of the latter to deal with the questions which must arise, if the sphere of the Body were expanded to anything approaching to the area claimed by the principles of its Rulers. Some of these disputes arose out of the practice in vogue amongst the Members of “sending up” ideas about spiritual things as “meat-offerings, so that the Rulers may receive of the grace and knowledge in the Body.” In others Mr. Grant was critical of the expressions used and the doctrine taught by the Ministers. But when we find our Lord elaborately compared in the Parable of the Good Shepherd to the Thief,¹ to say nothing of a most objectionable statement about our Lord’s sinlessness and a disparagement of Councils, it appears that he had grounds for his complaints.

Getting little or no satisfaction, he continued for some years longer in the Body, keeping up full communion, but harassed with doubts and anxieties. These at last he embodied in a paper, which he sent to the

¹ The passage was as follows :—“When our Lord spoke in these last days to men by His Apostles, He found His sheep under various Pastors; and He honoured their office and place. He applied to the Pastors for admittance to the sheep ; first, to him who claims to be the Chief Pastor, then to all the others. But the result was, as of old, He came unto His own, and His own received Him not ! But, brethren, He *must* gather up His own, and if He cannot get through the *door*, He will climb up some *other way*—over the walls—as a *thief* does, by night, and unknown to any. He comes to take His jewels—to kill and destroy all who oppose Him. He comes as a *thief* to take His jewels, as He can, *how* He can—as a *thief*.” —*Apostolic Lordship*, p. 42. Strange to say, this atrocious teaching was confirmed by the Angel.

Angel of his Church, with a request that it should be laid before the Apostle. This the Angel was very loth to do. But at length Mr. Grant, on insisting that the paper should be sent up, was summoned before the Angel, who was accompanied by the Prophet, the Evangelist, the Pastor, and the Deacon of the Church, and was condemned as an "accuser" of the brethren, in the name of our "Lord Jesus Christ, although," as Mr. Grant says, "no exception was taken, either then or since, to the facts I had stated."¹ The Appeal however, as Mr. Grant still persisted in his demand, was sent up.

At first the Angel sent to say that he was not to approach the Altar for Holy Communion whilst the matter was pending. But upon Mr. Grant's direct application to the Apostle, this excommunication was suspended. But the Appeal never got further than "the Pastor with the Apostle," through whose hands it would naturally pass to head-quarters. The Pastor read it in company with his Colleagues in the Universal Church, as opposed to the Tribes,² viz., the Evangelist and Prophet, and refused, point blank, unless Mr. Grant made it a personal charge against any of the Ministers over him, to place it before the Apostle. This he very properly refused to do, because he had never wished to proceed against any Ministers personally, but only to lay his fears and perplexities about false doctrine and the working of the system before the Rulers of the Body.

The scene now changed, in consequence of his removal from London to Liverpool. There he found

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 94.

² Vol. II. p. 52.

matters by no means more satisfactory. At last he made another Appeal, which was decided in his favour. This was followed by the publication of a Tract, and by a second Appeal, which led to his withdrawal from Communion for a time, then to his excommunication, and afterwards to his final departure from the Body in December, 1872.¹

About this time great anxiety was entertained as to the government of the Community after the removal of the Apostles. Only four had survived for some years, and of these Mr. Dalton had now died in 1871. Originally a Scotch Minister, he had afterwards received Ordination in the English Church, and, as has been recorded, held the Living of St. Leonard's, Bridgnorth, of which he was deprived in 1835 on account of his opinions; and after that he had been Curate of Clovelly, in Devonshire, and afterwards Vicar of Frithelstock. During the time of his tenure of his Curacy and Living, he abstained from active and open work as an Apostle, though France was supposed to be his Tribe. When the deaths of Drummond and Perceval and others made the rest feel the want of another assistant, he moved to Albury, and resumed active duties, attending especially to Scotland, for in France there were very few converts. As has been related, he was the author of several fugitive works.

Mr. Armstrong also became hopelessly paralyzed, and unequal to any work. The infirmities of age have

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, pp. 95—116. The entire book should be read by any one who wishes to understand the interior working of the system under at least one very important aspect.

since crept over Mr. Woodhouse, though, as I am informed by an Angel-Evangelist, in 1875 he sealed 1,000 persons in Germany. Mr. Cardale alone remained a short time ago in full vigour, notwithstanding his great age; but in July last, on attending the commemoration of the Separation of the Twelve in Gordon Square, he was taken ill, and after being removed to his house at Albury he sank, on Wednesday, the 18th of the same month.

The loss to the Community can hardly be estimated. Mr. Cardale's strength of will, calmness and clearness of judgment, and kindness of heart and in manner, added to the prestige derived from his long rule, made him a very tower of strength. He cherished unceasingly to the last the hope that he would be preserved to witness the Lord's Coming. He was indefatigable in labour, of which he accomplished a vast amount. He appears to have been quite sincere in his belief, and confident in the fulfilment of his expectations. Besides being an Apostle, he was, like Mr. Drummond, also a Prophet. One of his last prophecies was that God had done for His Church all that He would do.

On the 14th of July, 1876, a prophecy was heard bidding the Body count the days, and especially count fifty-two weeks. It was added that at the end of twelve times three and a half years the Lord would mark the time, and fulfil His work on the Apostles, or words to a similar effect. Inasmuch as the fifty-two weeks were accomplished by the 14th of July, 1877, and ($3\frac{1}{2} \times 12$) forty-two years since the Separation had elapsed upon

the same time, Members of the Body read the fulfilment of this prophecy in Mr. Cardale's removal, though it could only be fulfilled in an unexpected sense.

Though an expectation was widely entertained that he would be miraculously preserved to present the Church to our Lord on His Coming, still great anxiety was felt about arrangements which must be made after his decease. Before Mr. Grant left the Body, the question had been mooted, and a solution of the difficulty suggested. "Ah! Brethren," said an enthusiastic Angel, "do you think that we Angels, who daily worship according to the Service contained in this Book"—holding up the Liturgy—"do not feel our hearts burning within us—do you think we are for ever to be thus hidden? No, in its fulness, the Seraphic will follow the Cherubic Ministry. When the Apostolic office shall be taken away, then will the Angels be Angels indeed, then the Seraphic fire will burn with its true power, then the Angels will pull Babylon down to the ground."¹ Why upon Irvingite principles the Church would not then fall as a dead body to the ground, as it is said to have done when St. John and his Colleagues were removed, is hard to see.

The idea just mentioned has been developed, first, by the appointment of Coadjutors to the Apostles. So far back as during the life of Mr. Taplin, who died in April, 1862, the idea was entertained.

One day when Mr. Charles Böhm was preaching at Albury, Mr. Taplin cried out that he was sent as an

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 97.

Apostle of the Lord. This announcement created a great stir at the time, and was apparently meant and taken as if Mr. Böhm was to succeed as Apostle to one of those who had not long before deceased. But the surviving Apostles decreed otherwise; and determined that despite the words actually used, the prophecy could only mean that Mr. Böhm was to be a Coadjutor-Apostle.

Again, on January 12th, 1870, some of these Coadjutors were presented and one was called by the Prophets. In a Homily delivered the day before, it was argued that as Angels and the other Ministers had "Helps," so the Apostles in their need should not be debarred from the same assistance.

At first the Coadjutor was supposed to hold office only during the lifetime of the Apostle whose Coadjutor he was. But since that time the plan has gathered form and shape, not as it would appear by a legitimate development of a Divine plan where the complete form was foreseen and provided for in the earliest rudiments, but in a manner suggestive of human agents feeling their way onwards through expedients which were to be afterwards improved out of existence. Now it is in prospect that as our Lord sent the Seventy after the Twelve Apostles, so Seventy Coadjutors to the Apostles shall take up the work which the Apostles have left incomplete. And about a year ago the Prophets in their utterances, instead of saying simply, "O ye Twelve," after the former custom, occasionally prefaced their prophecies when addressed to the ruling powers with the words, "O ye Twelve and O ye Seventy."

Nevertheless great anxiety is felt amongst the Members with respect to the future. In the year 1876 the prophecies were very ominous, a feature especially noticed in those which were sent in from Germany, speaking of troubles soon coming upon the faithful. To those who believe in the truth and soundness of this system, these denunciations will appear to tell of the "distress of nations with perplexity," of which our Lord spoke upon the Mount of Olives. To all others they will seem to form the natural expression of gloomy forebodings on the part of those, who feel that with the lives of the Apostles the career of the Catholic Apostolic Church is virtually drawing to a close.

CHAPTER XV.

PRESENT LIFE AND PROSPECTS.



THE career of the Catholic Apostolic Church has now been traced from the rise of this Religious Body out of the teaching and influence of Irving, through the consolidation of the system under the twelve so-called Apostles, up to the present time, when only a remnant of the Apostles is left, and that remnant trembling upon the brink of the grave. Most of the old actors in the drama who took a leading part have passed away. The end of 1876 added to the rest Mr. Christopher Heath, who succeeded Irving as Angel over the Church in Newman Street, and presided afterwards over the same Congregation in Gordon Square, a man of commanding, not to say imperious,¹ character, corresponding with his fine and powerful person.

This change in the *personnelle* of a Ministry, in all

¹ On one occasion, as the Clergy were on the point of entering the Church, Mr. Heath observed that the hands of one of the Ministers, not a young man, were untidy. "Mr. —, your hands are not fit for Divine Service," was the quiet remark of Mr. Heath; "be so good as to wash them: we will wait for you." The order was immediately obeyed, and the procession paused till the Minister returned.

cases productive of embarrassment and critical consequences where a Religious Body is comparatively young, is much more serious to this Community; for all the arrangements in it were originally made upon the assumption, that the then generation would witness the Lord's return to His Church. But that return seems at present to be indefinitely postponed, so far as actual signs are concerned. Many more of these pointed to an earlier consummation than the one now to be accomplished, though we must never put out of our sight the fact that "no man knoweth the day nor the hour when the Son of Man cometh," or the incessant duty of watching, inasmuch as He may surprise us at any time. Still many periods when this Body of Christians expected Him on account of some calculation of "the days and hours" have gone by, as for example the 14th of July, 1875, the fortieth anniversary of the separation of the Apostles, when about 1,000 communicants assembled in Gordon Square to be ready for His approach.¹ Such a period again was the close of 1876, ten years after 1866, when ingenious calculation, gloomy expectations, and the critical state of Turkey, combined to put the Body into a feverish state of expectation.

This attitude of expectation of the Second Advent supplies the strong moral lever which is the chief source of religious earnestness in these people. The early part of

¹ This day had been fixed by a special prophecy given on the 14th July, 1835, viz., "that in forty years some dreadful tribulation should come on the land and some great event would happen."—*Dialogue between two Workmen on Irvingism*, by George Bellett, M.A., Rural Dean of Bridgnorth. London: W. Skeffington and Son, 1877.

this history has shown that the Body grew out of early studies of prophecy, in which passages from the Apocalypse and from other portions of the Bible were interpreted as having direct reference to contemporaneous events. The prophetic gifts and the appointment of Apostles came from this source.

In this respect the Members at the present day are true to their traditions. The courses of lectures delivered by Evangelists are mainly made up with expositions of prophecy, in which the great consummation is represented as close at hand. All the Members are taught to pray before they go to bed at night that the Lord may come before morning. The feeling inside the Body may be illustrated by an answer made some years ago by a young Oxford man then living in London. A friend had asked him what he meant practically by his belief in the nearness of our Lord's Advent. "Why, just this," was the reply; "I have asked you to breakfast to-morrow morning, and it is more than probable that when you knock at the door there may be no one to answer or receive you, for we may all have been called away in the night, to meet the Lord in the air."

This is only a sample of the manner in which the habit of expectation is inculcated. The hopes and fears inspired by that dread time are intensified as far as possible. The Evangelist holds in one hand the rod of terrible Wrath, and in the other passports to safety, pre-eminence, and bliss by means of the sealing by the Apostles. A large number keep their affairs in a constant state of readiness, wound up and exact to

each day. If the attitude of their spiritual state were expressed in a Creed with the separate articles arranged in order according to their practical weight and influence, the first would be, "I believe in the immediate nearness of our Lord's Advent." Sermons, or addresses, or Testimonies, whether intended for Members within the Body or for the outside world, with very little exception end with this subject. This is the ground-work and the chief part of the Gospel which these missionaries go forth to preach. The prophecies, they say, which are unfulfilled—and they include in their number many which are sometimes taken to have received their accomplishment—are now in the course of fulfilment. The Lord is coming, "He has sent His messengers before His face to prepare the way before Him," and He is only waiting till the road is ready.

This Tenet adds a vast moral dignity in the eyes of all the Members of the Body to all the arrangements made by Apostles and Prophets. These arrangements are regarded as the interpretations of the accent of the Lord's Voice.

Accordingly, all ordinances are observed with the most conscientious regularity. The attendance at public worship is probably in Irvingite churches larger in proportion to the number of Members than it is in any other Religious Body. But then it must be remembered, with reference to any comparison with other Bodies, that those who sit lightly to the system soon come amongst the "lapsed," and most likely retire from communion altogether. And few of the lukewarm in

religion ever find themselves in Irvingite quarters at all. Still this regularity in worship is undoubtedly a remarkable feature, greatly to the credit of Catholic Apostolics, even if we subtract something more, owing to the great stress laid by them upon external observance.

They are all too, with scarce any exception, communicants : and the communicants receive as a rule every Sunday. It is really striking to see the large numbers who in the great Forenoon Service go up to the altar. The whole Congregation seems to assemble for the purpose of receiving, as well as assisting by their presence in, the celebration : and non-communicating attendance—for the Service is wholly that of the Holy Eucharist—is hardly known amongst the true Members.

Their Services too, at least as conducted in their chief churches, are dignified and imposing. All the Ministers go through their parts—for each of those who make up the large staff of Ministers in any Church has a definite part assigned to him—with the utmost exactness, and except in the case of prophesying prophets, with a calm quietness of demeanour. A stranger observing them would come to the conclusion, which is the fact, that they have been specially drilled in their work. And indeed great care is taken in preparation for the Services. A book of directions, taking up 160 handsome octavo pages, and answering to the Roman *Directorium*, is in the hands of each officiating Minister. These “General Rubrics” appear to include every particular upon which information is required. The number of those who officiate is remarkable—indeed nearly all the male

Members who are old enough bear some post or other.

Their Services, at least in their best presentment in the chief churches, are very solemn, both as regards their musical rendering and in the general mode of offering them; though it is easy to see that their musical expression follows a fashion older than that which prevails in the best Services at the present time. This remark is applicable also to several particulars in the customs and ritual observed. Amongst other things, they reserve the choir or chancel wholly for their Ministers. In Gordon Square the choir is placed under the wall of a shallow south transept opposite to the organ. Of course, under these circumstances, the antiphonal reply of two half-choirs to one another is out of the question. It is strange, that such careful retainers, and indeed recoverers, of practices in vogue with the Jewish Church should disregard this tradition of the Catholic Church, which is so closely connected with the Temple-worship, and probably dates back to times even anterior to that.

The Services throughout the day, ending with the Evening Service at five o'clock, are those which are meant for the Members of the Body. An Evening Service however is held under the Evangelist of the Church, who in this respect is under the Angel-Evangelist of the district, rather than the Angel of the Church. Of the earlier Services, the Forenoon one is the chief; then is the great Celebration. The Elements are consecrated, which after the faithful have partaken are to be reserved throughout the week. Reservation is practised,

as has been already stated, not merely for the wants of the sick, but in peculiar phraseology, that "Bread should never be wanting in the House of our Father." The Elements are kept in Tabernacles, with a light burning in a lamp in front, which are so like what are seen in Roman Catholic Churches, that in a place where Churches of the two persuasions stand close together, Roman Catholics often mistake the Irvingite building for their own, till their genuflections lead the attendant in waiting to make known to them, sometimes rather summarily, their mistake. The Elements are reserved from one Sunday morning till after the consecration upon the next Sunday, when having been removed with the ceremony which has been already described, they are consumed in the Sacristy upon the return of the Priests after the celebration of the Eucharist. Genuflections are not made in front of the Reserved Elements, but Members ordinarily, though by no means invariably, make a slight bow when passing in front of the altar.

Of late years the practice has been introduced, of combining lay-members into an association in each Church, for keeping up a requisite number of attendants at week-day Services by attending in turns or in relays. The Services thus assigned to each Member are termed "Services of Obligation." Communicating is almost universal from early childhood; Confession, as such, is rare. Confessionals, such as are found in Roman churches, are not used; but it is ordered that there are to be provided in every church a sufficient number of chairs or seats, where Priests may receive such as desire to

commune with them. To each chair or seat there "should be a side-seat, or a stool placed sideways, and so arranged as that persons either sitting or kneeling may conveniently speak in the ear of the Priest. The west end of the north aisle is an appropriate place for one such chair or seat." But Deaconesses are often energetic in finding out spiritual difficulties. And inasmuch as they are bound to mention whatever they thus come to know, to the Deacon or Priest under whom they are working, and he in turn must pass it on to his superior, the inviolable secrecy which is essential to a delicate dealing with individual souls is in many cases impossible.

Visiting amongst the Members is very sedulously carried on, through the Deacons and Deaconesses, and the Under-Deacons and Lay-Assistants. In general there is great intimacy amongst the Members of the Body. All is known about them; and as in the case of other small sects, they are all more like the members of a vast family, than the constituent parts of a large Body of Christians.

The financial arrangement of Tithes is, as a moral duty, rigidly enforced. Each Member is expected to contribute one-tenth of his income to the purposes of the Church. And it appears that no time is lost in making this clear to the newly-converted. But beyond this exercise of general moral influence, which is carefully observed, and industriously put in force,¹ no compulsion is used. Particulars are left to each person's

¹ *Catholic Apostolic Church (Irvingism)*, p. 23.

conscience. No general collection is made. Boxes stand in the churches into which these Tithes are paid according to each man's own computation. And the highest Authorities of the Body say that thus the payment is made readily and scrupulously, without trouble on their parts. That is to say, the greatest care and exactness is shown in inculcating and in directing this duty as a general matter, and then the conscientious zeal of the Members supplies the rest.

But generally speaking, the Members are kept in great order. Besides the large machinery for visiting, which, taken with the general machinery of the Ministry, is of a most complete character,—directions and information moving electrically from top to bottom, and from bottom to top,—special arrangements are made for keeping each person up to his or her religious pitch. Thus of late years has been introduced the plan of making every one periodically “go before the Four.” That is to say, every one is obliged to appear before the Elder, Prophet, Evangelist, and Pastor, who are sitting together, and successively make what examination they think fit. The principle of this proceeding is that “the Lord may see every one all round by means of the various Ministries of the Four.” For the Lord Jesus is supposed to include in Himself perfectly all the kinds of Ministry, which branch off from Him into Four provinces; and in each of these provinces He acts through the Ministry of Apostle or Elder, Prophet, Evangelist, and Pastor. Accordingly, in the practice just described, every Member is brought into contact with each kind of Minister, and his religious

condition is supposed to be thoroughly examined, and if the results are satisfactory, and if it may be so said, to be warranted. Generally however the examination and the remarks thought necessary are of a brief and cursory nature.

Private Confession is practised, but is not common. Communications of a less formal character, in asking and receiving spiritual advice, are much more frequent. There is a strict rule that both the Confessor and the Penitent must come fasting. This rule is usually carried out by Confessions taking place immediately after the Morning Service at seven o'clock. In ordinary circumstances each person would, if he desired to confess, confess to his Pastor or Elder; but should he prefer another Priest, upon application under certain circumstances, another would be appointed for him, not chosen by himself.¹ The practice, universally sanctioned in the Catholic Church, of perfect freedom as to the choice of a Confessor, does not obtain amongst these people. But as in the English Communion, there is entire freedom for each individual to use private Confession or not.

¹ "Individuals have not the right to select their own Confessor. In the absence of any reason or motive to the contrary, it is the duty of every person to take counsel with and to make Confession to the Pastor who has the immediate charge over him, or, as above-mentioned, to the Elder. It is however the privilege of every person to make known to the Angel any reason or motive inducing him to desire that some other should be appointed than the Pastor who would ordinarily take charge of him. And the Angel will make provision that no one be compelled to consult with or confess to a Pastor, with whom for private reasons, or even in consequence of a repugnance on the part of the individual, such communication would be inconvenient."—*General Rubrics, &c.* London: Printed by Strangeways and Walton, 1862.

This regulation about the choice of a Confessor is a sample of the stiffness which prevails in the working of the elaborate machinery of the Church. Provision is made for every part of the Church's work by an assignment of a Minister specially charged with it. Thus the supervision of the Pastoral province belongs to the Pastor, with the Deacons, Deaconesses, and others under him. The Evangelist attends to those who are outside the Community. As soon as they enter it, they pass out of his province into that of the Pastor. The Prophet is taken up with learning and declaring the Mind of the Lord. And to the Elder belongs the management of the Services, and a general supervision of the other three Ministries, between whom and the Angel he is also the medium of communication. Financial operations are managed by the Deacons. The Angel of a Church controls all.

These arrangements constitute a system which appears very complete when drawn out upon paper. Their weakness lies in their complexity ; the different wheels of the machinery, if allowed due play, must be constantly running against one another. This danger is obviated, as far as possible, simply by not allowing them free play. Each Minister is kept stiffly and strictly in his own place, or as the phrase is, within his own "border." But the consequence is a general stiffening of operations into an inconvenient officialism, and the loss of much spontaneous energy which would flourish and bear fruit in a more genial climate. The natural rivulets of religious influence are dammed up ; and generally speaking, the

usual consequences ensue, which attend upon treating human agents as if they were only parts of a self-acting machine,—a lesson abundantly taught in these days, especially in the case of people who have Teutonic blood in their veins.

Thus all in that part of the Body, where the duties do not lie in an evangelistic direction, find their religious activity confined to the field within the Community. None of the Ministers may outstep their "border,"—such a course is frequently condemned by their written or living authorities,—and many in consequence are shut off from those works of mercy which are frequently the outcome and the satisfaction of much true Christian feeling, and in turn become the means of growth to a Christian spirit.¹

This "cabining and confining" must act very prejudicially upon many Members who are not in the Ministry. We are told of a Member who "had been exercised in his mind about visiting the sick, the fatherless, and the widow." After carefully thinking over the best way of carrying out his religious and charitable purpose, he discussed it with a friend, and they determined to devote one night in the week to this work, "supplying the funds the best way they could between themselves." They were joined by two or three others, who brought also an influx of funds. We should expect that Religious Superiors would encourage such acts of mercy as are done in the name

¹ "If a man enter the Ministry in the Church, he is not only not expected, but he is interdicted from seeking the salvation of the world outside."—*Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism), p. 29.

of our Lord. But no. "Soon as it was known what was doing,"—says one of these visitors of the poor and needy,—“and I believe,” he adds, “that never did men work in a more humble and excellent spirit,—a letter came, containing strong censure and requiring them to desist from any further prosecution of the work, which was to be left in the hands of the proper Ministry. The party, wishing to give no offence to any one, desisted at once, and the matter was left to the care of the Ministry. But the Ministry, to whom the work was now entrusted (as often happens), had no ‘gift’ in that direction, nor any taste for the work. Some six months passed away, and nothing whatever was done, and the work underwent a complete collapse.” Our informant adds, as it appears, from his own experience :—“This is an example, and by no means an unfrequent one, of the way in which these singular and monopolizing Ministries make void and destroy the Grace of God in the Church.”¹

This stern, unyielding, machine-like motion appears to be generally characteristic of the Body. The hierarchy is numerous, and is everywhere. Nearly all the men are absorbed into it in some post or other. If you happen to meet any male adult Member of this Religious Community, he will probably tell you at once that he holds some office. The laity, as a distinct, influential body, are nowhere. Hence the officialism is not so much felt, where nearly all, if not all of any standing, are themselves officials. But everything is done by authority. When any religious work is set on foot by the spontaneous outflow

¹ *Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism), p. 81, note.

of religious feeling, Authority interposes. Perhaps all is now conducted well, and the fiat of an infallible power justified by good management and success. Or perhaps the original plan is altered, new arrangements made, and the project ultimately wanes and fails. Instances at Paris and elsewhere are recorded, where such an interference on the part of the higher powers is said to have led to a failure in the organization of a Church, or to great inconvenience and therefore loss to the Body.¹

In private matters as well as in public, this strong authority is exercised. Their large number of Ministers must have a field for employment, and they find part of it in showing a close and searching interest in the affairs of their people. By means of the Deacons, Subdeacons, and Deaconesses, they sedulously look up all their Members. And inasmuch as Divine sanction is claimed for all the acts of the Body, and Divine mission of a very direct nature is supposed to be involved in all their Ministries, it is evident that a despotism of a strong nature must almost of necessity ensue, and that a wider

¹ *Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism), pp. 32, 33. "In a large town in the north of England, for some years past an intention had existed to build a church. The people were somewhat scattered in various parts of the town, a decided majority living in the central and western part. A site was bought in an irregular manner by two or three individuals in the extreme western part of the town, a situation manifestly inapplicable to the circumstances." This plan was negated by successive majorities in the local council. "But just at this time the visitation took place. The executive came down, and this glorious government, founded on the model of the English constitution, in the most unceremonious manner overturned all decisions of the council, and restored the former chaos. In obedience to their high command, the church has been built in a place where no reasonable man now doubts the extent of the mistake that has been made." — p. 41.

area would be included under its sway, than would usually come under the control of Religious Authorities.

When we pass from the exemplary performance of external duties to the inward spirit of religion as shown amongst these people, we do not meet with adequate results. They are chiefly employed with "rehearsing for the Kingdom," or in other words, preparing for their supposed duties when the Lord arrives. Consequently, all efforts are directed towards a part only of the Christian Religion. Exaggerated stress is laid upon certain arrangements, and the great features of Catholic Doctrine, which largely outstep all narrower provinces, including the verities of Natural Religion, are left in the shade.

The publications of this Sect are pervaded by this narrowness of treatment to a remarkable degree. Any one who is obliged to read through them all is inevitably reminded of the *crambe repetita* of Horace, in being told of Apostles, Apostles, Apostles, over and over and over again. We are tempted to ask, whether the authors remember St. Paul's saying about Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, or have even forgotten Irving's own dying words, when he wrote: "No Apostle, Prophet, Evangelist, or Pastor, no Angel of any Church, no man nor creature, hath more than a measure of the Spirit, nor can occupy or administer more than a measure or proportion of the Spirit: to Jesus alone pertaineth the fulness, and to the Church over which He ruleth." And again: "Ofttimes in my prayer have I been so ashamed and grieved that there should be any Name but the Name of Jesus, that I have almost besought the Lord to be

taken out of the way, rather than eclipse in any way the Name of His honourable Son.”¹ Yet we are told by those who have had experience of the Sermons of the Ministers, that most of them are about Apostles and ordinances, and few about the Lord Jesus Christ. “There is a continual and incessant preaching of Apostles and Prophets, of fourfold and all kinds of Ministry, of Judaic types and shadows. Of Christ little is said; indeed, He is not much known in these parts.”² “My own experience has been that for one reference to Christ, there has been at least ten to Apostles and Prophets, *et hoc genus omne.*”³

This testimony is abundantly proved by the witness of many others who have left the Catholic Apostolic Church. For example, Mr. Grant says, in a passage written whilst he was a Member: “I have referred to the want in the tone of our teaching, and consequently in the spirit of our lives, of the love of JESUS, of appreciation of Him, as He is manifested in the Gospels, as our Great Exemplar: the Way, the Truth, and the Life, to us individually. The want of this in our Rulers comes out, at the best, in the enjoyment of the worldly adjuncts of their position in ‘society,’ and the forgetfulness of that life of real interior mortification, which is incompatible with the spirit of ‘society,’—which must show itself outwardly where it really exists,—that habit of life of which the Forerunner of the Lord and Jesus Himself set the Church an example, persuading us by His own wonderful life to follow it. His Apostles

¹ *Norton*, pp. 128, 131.

² *Catholic Apostolic Church* (Irvingism), p. 36.

³ *Ibid.* p. 58.

and the primitive Christians, abiding in the tradition of it, did follow it. And the Church, through even its worst phases, has aspired to follow it. We practically ignore it."¹ And in another place: "To limit ourselves to the personal, spiritual standing of Pastors—even of 'Angels' or 'Apostles'—would be to suffer loss. The Lord is above the standard. . . . The scope and spirit of teaching at the present time is the reverse of this. Man is everything."² "Nearly all the Sermons heard in these churches," said another, who left them when he came to man's estate, "are about Apostles and Prophets, and that sort of thing: very different from what we find in the Church of England."

Accordingly, it is not to be wondered at that "persons coming from almost any section of the Church find they come into a lower temperature, they are chilled with the icy coldness and the dead formality that reigns around."³ If any one were to go, as the author did, directly from the Forenoon Service in Gordon Square to a Celebration of the Holy Communion in an English Church, he would be struck by the greater warmth of the spiritual atmosphere in the latter place. He would seem to have moved from the celebration of a solemn ordinance to a realization of the Presence of the Lord Jesus. Amongst other things, these people, immediately after the prayers following the Consecration are concluded, in a mass rise from their knees and remain sitting till their turn comes to go up to the altar. Whilst

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 28.

² *Ibid.* p. 33.

³ *Bulwark*, June, 1874, p. 156.

human nature remains as it is, there may be too many communicants as well as too few. The pendulum may swing from the neglect of ordinances to an extravagant valuation of their importance, when not accompanied by a correspondingly earnest spirit. Especially is this true, as I cannot but add, where the *corruptio optimi* may possibly become *pessima*—though we must not make this a charge against these people.

People who have left the Body complain of the incompetence of the Ministers. This is not to be wondered at when we remember that they are mostly men who have been in business, and have received no professional education. To this cause, as well as to the narrowness of the system which in the main includes practically—not theoretically—the salient points of Irvingism with only a nearly passive acceptance of the other Articles of the Christian faith, we must attribute the weariness which especially the younger generation have expressed in hearing over and over again about Apostles and Prophets. Such persons, as we have seen, contrast the comparative width and elasticity of preaching in the Church of England with the narrow field to which the preachers whom they used to hear were wont to confine themselves. Mr. Grant, in his *Apostolic Lordship*, gives numerous instances where this incompetence is plainly visible. "Of Protestant, Anglican," he says, "and Roman Catholic Priests and Bishops I have seen much; and I must say, that as a Body, 'Apostolic' Ministers do not, either in individual zeal, devotion, study, or general perception of the multiform character

of truth, compare favourably with those in the Church at large, to whom I could refer.”¹ The unhesitating manner in which the sayings of a few men are quoted by Ministers even of the highest position among them, as for example, that it is impossible to prove that Bishops were the successors of the Apostles, or that “equals cannot appoint equals,” or that the Episcopate has only local power, may indeed impose upon the uneducated, or upon those who are unable to examine into the truth of these dogmatic assertions: but can convey only one impression to those who know what real information is. “How frequently have I been taught,” writes Mr. Grant, “that we must receive ‘only what comes down to us from the Apostles.’ A Minister once informed me, on my suggesting a various reading, that at his Ordination the Apostle had presented him with the English Authorized Version of the Bible, and he therefore accepted that as the ultimate standard. This is absurd, but it is a fact. The man is now consecrated an Angel, that is, to the Order of the Episcopate!”²

This extreme deference to the words of the Apostles, however strange it may appear, is but the logical consequence of the doctrines of this Sect. The same attention must be paid to the Lord's Words, whether He speaks in the year 45 or in 1845. The only question evidently is, whether He does speak, or whether merely human words are wrongly foisted upon Him.

Recently in my own neighbourhood, a discussion

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 24. See the whole passage, pp. 19—26. Mr. Grant was evidently too much for his opponents.

² *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 26.

having arisen between an Evangelist and a Clergyman, the former admitted that the duly authenticated words of these Apostles, as the Liturgy for example, have the same authority as the Epistles of St. Paul. This startling assertion, which does credit to the straightforwardness of the Evangelist, is simply a practical way of putting the Tenet that the Lord has in these days spoken by Apostles and Prophets, and that they have conveyed His message to the Church. This again explains a favourite saying of the Ministers of this Sect, that all which a candid enquirer needs is the Bible and the Liturgy :—the Bible as the work of the first Twelve, who may be said to have bequeathed both Testaments stamped with their approval to the Church of all time ; and the Liturgy which is regarded as the great work and credential of the Twelve modern aspirers to the Apostolic office. As time passes on, and these Apostles are being taken away without fulfilling the fond expectations which prompted their appointment, the Liturgy is now being more and more prized as their great bequest to the Church, and as it gradually receives the prestige and venerableness of age, it is apparently on its promotion in the eyes of these people to an authority equal to that of the Bible.

This subject brings us on to the evangelizing operations of the Body. Of late years these operations have been conducted with much vigour. The disappointments of earlier times have passed off, and the effects of pristine difficulties. Still even now it must require a strong faith to buoy up an Evangelist in a task where success of any important kind is rare indeed.

When operations are commenced in any town, the first measure is to secure the Town-hall or some other important building for the delivery of a course of Lectures. The subject of these Lectures is the immediate Coming of the Lord, put forth with all the skill and power at the Evangelist's command. The object appears to be, first to convince, and then to frighten people, so that they may be ready to embrace the safeguard promised against impending tribulation and anguish. When the times comes, whether at the end of the first course of Lectures, or in the second, or more strongly in a third, the doctrine of the Restored Apostolate is presented, and Sealing is held out as a passport through the great Tribulation, and a title to a place amongst the 144,000. In each succeeding course a smaller room if necessary is taken, according as the attendance and the Lectures are more popular or more select. To these Lectures succeed Classes. Thus the nucleus of a future Church is assembled and established.

One of the chief arguments at the present time, especially with Churchmen who feel dissatisfaction at the present state of things, is derived from an exaggeration, as has been already said, of evils in the English Church. Erastian tendencies, and the usurpation by the State of the rights of the Church, is one stock subject.¹ The Public Worship Regulation Act, as a matter of fact, materially assisted their efforts in conversion.

¹ It would be well if those people who favour State usurpation could learn in the struggles of actual controversy the vantage-ground which they are surrendering to Roman Catholics on the one hand, and to Dissenters on the other.

Another argument they draw from varieties of opinion within the English Church. They point to eminent men who are supposed to represent phases of High Church, Low Church, and Broad Church opinion, and ask which is to be regarded as the specimens of true conformity. In broad contrast, as they point out, stands their own implicit obedience to the ruling of the Apostles. Thus they diligently collect all features of disagreement, and try by proving the existence of a chaos of opinion to show the need of a Divine interposition by means of Apostles and Prophets, in order to reduce it to order.

Among their chief difficulties in making converts are the unwillingness of men to receive the Apostles as Divinely sent, and to submit to a despotic authority, and a disinclination to pay regularly a tithe of income. The latter is evidently one of the very best points in the system, though it must always be unpopular. This praise falls of course only upon the payers of tithes, not upon the receivers, with whom the motive would lie the other way. But, that payment should be made regularly, involving much self-denial, is, in the cases where the payer is separate from the receiver, worthy of all praise. The recovery too of this practice, in which the Members of this Body led the way, is extremely creditable.

But there are also two other main difficulties, of which one concerns the lower orders of society, and the other affects educated and intelligent people. The system itself is too complicated and too full of refinements to fall in with the popular tone of mind. It has certainly not yet developed, and probably never will develop,

features likely to commend it to the mass of our population. It has obeyed its own truest instincts in living mainly, since the time of Irving, who only knew it in infancy, in quietness away from the popular gaze.

And men of religious education and general intelligence are repelled by the air of mystery which is spread around the teaching and the action of the Body. When upon asking where information may be had they are referred only to the Bible and the Liturgy, and to some living Evangelist, and are told that even the books written by Apostles have no positive authority, such authority being attached only to what is issued by the Apostles in Council ; when again in reading answers to attacks, they find that the reply is directed mainly on some weak outpost instead of the centre of the line of the assailants, and in place of a copious elucidation of what is maintained to be Divine Truth, information is doled out with a niggard hand ; such people ask themselves whether this is the exuberant yield of Heavenly fruit, appearing ever richer and more abundant the more it is handled, or only an earthly gathering where the scanty outside skin hardly conceals the fleshless sterility within. This class of people is naturally and reasonably inclined to draw back when there appears to be a concealment of truth. Openness and readiness to give full explanations have always attended the advance of the Christian Faith, whether it be generally, or with respect to separate doctrines. Where such politic management is found necessary, people of candid, intelligent, comprehensive, earnest minds are led to draw back.

Not that some of the Evangelists do not press these Tenets on the acceptance of others with the most praiseworthy sincerity and seriousness. The defect lies with the general system, not with these or those individuals whose personal character may justly demand our thorough respect.

Missionary work, as usually understood, that is, amongst those who are either theoretically or practically heathen, cannot be said to exist amongst these people. Their Evangelists go to those who already believe in Christ our Lord, to induce them to believe also in these Apostles and in their new system.

The converts which are made are chiefly such as have not been thrown in the way of the revival in other quarters of Catholic Truth. The Roman Catholics who have joined the Body are very few in number, and might almost be counted upon the fingers. Some who had passed through the earlier part of the Church movement in the English Communion, and were shocked at the violent opposition which then greeted truths and practices which are now generally accepted, from a feeling of desolation joined the Catholic Apostolics rather than the Roman Catholic Communion. And some Clergy since that time, who have not drunk deeply of the draught of Catholic Truth, have secretly accepted the Apostles. But the main body of their converts has come from those who either derived their first serious religious thoughts from the ministrations of Irvingites, or else were ignorant of the Truths revived in the present century, or of ordinary Church teaching till they were taught by these Ministers.

Such people might well begin with the Bible and Liturgy, when others refused to wipe their minds clean of previous religious knowledge and impressions. People who have not penetrated to the depths of the foundations on which the Catholic Church stands, may well be induced to accept the superficial Catholicity which these Apostles claim. Accordingly, as matter of fact, it will be found that most of those who have joined the Body are such as were, when they first received these Tenets, novices in Catholicity.

Part of the secrecy of which people complain is due to the fact that several Clergymen officiate in the English Church, who believe in the Apostles, and yet conceal that belief. How this proceeding can be defended, is hard to see. The acknowledgment of authority which is taken to be superior to any authority in the Church, and which yet is not recognized in the documents of the Church, is plainly inconsistent with a loyal acceptance of the formularies and discipline of the Church of England. Such a mode of action in the business of the world would be denounced and shunned. Doubtless upon Catholic Apostolic principles a Curate is obliged to tell his Rector and his Bishop; and an Incumbent must make known his secret belief to his Bishop. But if this is concealed from the people, who look to him as if he were a true believer in the doctrine and discipline of the Church which has sent him to minister, it is impossible not to object to a mode of proceeding which the world would not tolerate in matters of business. Religion is grievously and indeed fatally lowered, if she

cannot go hand in hand with honesty and straightforwardness.

That many adherents of this Sect attend the Services of the Church of England, if not living where they can obtain the ministrations of their own Ministers, is a wholly different matter. Irvingites profess to believe, as is attempted to be proved in a pamphlet before quoted, from the Advent Collects, some prayers in the Communion Service, and other Collects, that the Church of England seeks to possess Apostles. One would have thought that the flimsy reasoning of this pamphlet¹ could have imposed upon no one. But it is remarkable how these people loosen their bonds, when they leave the Catholic Apostolic Body for the English Church. Members who have been "sealed" are actually recommended to apply for Confirmation; that is, those who have had the higher Rite with plenary grace, as they believe, apply to have it performed over them again in an inferior way, neglecting the awful profanity of tampering with Rites which professedly convey gifts of the Holy Spirit. "One young Deacon, on whom such a course of action was urged by his superiors, resolutely refused thus to profane the Sacrament of Confirmation—and he came under condemnation for his honesty. He has since practically left the Apostles."²

Ministers on applying for work in the English Church, in the same manner, and according to their own principles with the same profanation, suffer themselves to be re-ordained. One, who was an Angel, that is, a Bishop,

¹ *The Church of England Catholic and Apostolic, &c.*

² And entirely. *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 27.

was thus re-ordained a Priest in India, and afterwards on his return to England "answered an advertisement by the Rector of a country parish, who required a Clergyman to take charge during vacation, and was accepted as an Anglican Priest, nothing being said about his connection with ourselves. This Angel afterwards boasted of having held most successfully extra services in the Parish Church, during the whole of which time he acted, as he expressed it, under the direction of his Apostolic Ecclesiastical Superior."¹ Imagine an English or Roman Bishop acting so.

Curiously, whether or not from a secret want of confidence in the validity of their own Orders, they do not take the title "Reverend," unless they have been ordained by a Bishop, but are addressed and dress as ordinary laymen.

The chief country where, next to England and Scotland, Irvingism prevails, is North Germany. Besides this there are some Members in Ireland, Denmark, Holland, South Germany, Switzerland, America, and Australia. Also a few, but only a few, in France, Belgium, Russia, India, New Zealand, and the Cape Colony. A few years ago there were twenty-six Angel-Evangelists, besides some in Australia, who were thus distributed:—for London and England seven, in Scotland five, in North Germany four, Switzerland and South Germany two, and for Ireland, France, Denmark, Holland, America, Russia, Spain,—I believe at Gibraltar,—and South Australia, one apiece.

¹ *Apostolic Lordship*, p. 27.

About the numbers of the Sect it is difficult to form an estimate. The author of the *Catholic Apostolic Church*—Irvingism—¹ estimates them at from three to four thousand people. This is too low a figure. In the absence of statistics, which the Authorities of the Body decline to supply, I estimate as follows:—In Gordon Square, 1,500 communicants. Amongst these must be reckoned, besides ordinary communicants, (1) children above two years of age, at which time they are communicated once; and (2) people living in the country away from Irvingite ministrations, who occasionally come to Gordon Square to communicate there. In Islington, Hackney, and Paddington, 300 communicants each. In Westminster, Chelsea, and Camberwell,—late Southwark,—150 each. This will make a total, with a margin, of 3,000 in London. In the country, supposing that besides Birmingham with (say) 200, there are thirty churches,² with fifty each, we should then have 1700 more. In Scotland, including Edinburgh, there are, I believe,

¹ Page 63.

² In all England twenty-four were reported at the census in 1871. *Whitaker's Almanack*, where the tables are constructed with great care, gives nineteen churches. This number, I am told, was correct two years ago. A writer in the *Church Times*, since the estimate in the text was made, says:—"I have a list of the Apostolic Churches, which gives eighty-six congregations, twenty-four being Angels' seats, the other sixty-two daughter churches, under the charge of Priests or Deacons, acting under the authority of the Angels of the mother churches." I should very much doubt this being a true description of Churches in operation at any one time. There is a constant ebb and flow in such matters. Some of the "daughter churches" have no doubt very small congregations indeed. I believe that my estimate, however unavoidably rough, includes all the real Members of the Body. Let it be borne in mind that outlying Members are enrolled at some central church, which they visit periodically.

about 800. In Ireland, say 200. On the continent, including Germany, if we suppose fifty churches, with fifty in each, we shall have 2,500, and if we add 300 for Berlin, and 200 for minor congregations, we shall make up 3,000. In America and the Colonies 1,500 at the outside. We shall thus have a grand total ¹ of some 10,500 including another margin of 300. Besides these, there is a floating mass of people who occasionally attend the Services. I believe this to be a very liberal estimate.

With regard to the prospects of the Sect, the verdict of past history is evidently not favourable. If this constitutes all the advance that has been made, if in more than forty years the Body with such a grand programme gives such scanty results, how can we augur for it a fine future? These considerations are greatly enhanced, when we add the fact that, though the Lord has not come, the Apostles are nearly all dead or disabled. But the true answer to the question is involved in the Tenets held and propagated. If these are true, all obstacles may be surmounted. If they are false, then we see the cause of failure and the seeds of decay.

A statement and examination of these Doctrines will be the subjects of the next Volume.

¹ London . . .	3,000
England . . .	1,700
Scotland . . .	800
Ireland . . .	200
The Continent . . .	3,000
America and the Colonies	1,500
	<hr/>
	10,200
Margin . . .	300
	<hr/>
	10,500

APPENDIX I.

THE GREAT TESTIMONY.

TO

THE PATRIARCHS, ARCHBISHOPS, BISHOPS,

AND OTHERS IN PLACES OF CHIEF RULE OVER
THE CHURCH OF CHRIST THROUGHOUT THE EARTH,

AND TO

THE EMPERORS, KINGS, SOVEREIGN PRINCES,
AND CHIEF GOVERNORS OVER THE NATIONS
OF THE BAPTIZED.

**In the Name of the Father, and of the
Son, and of the Holy Ghost, One God.**

Amen. The Church of Christ is the company of all who are baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, without distinction of age or country, and separated by their baptism from all other men. One body;¹ the pillar and ground of the truth;² the dwelling-place of God; the temple of the Holy Ghost;³ the declarer unto all men of God's will;⁴ the teacher unto all men of God's ways; the depository of God's word and ordinances;—wherein is offered

¹ Ephes. iv. 4.

² 2 Cor. vi. 16.

³ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

⁴ Eph. iii. 10.

up all the true worship which God receives from His creatures of mankind ;—through whom have been conveyed all those blessings, in civil and domestic life, which have distinguished Christendom ;—wherein are contained the only hope for man and the only means of accomplishing that purpose, for which God waits, and which all creation earnestly expects.¹

As the Church is the aggregate of the baptized, so Christendom is the community of those nations which, as national bodies, profess the faith of Christ's Church ;—whose heads and rulers not only recognize that all their power is derived from God, but, being consecrated over their people in God's Church, have acknowledged themselves to be occupiers of their thrones for Christ, until He come and take the kingdom ;—have, by receiving anointing from the hands of God's priests, also acknowledged that their ability to rule is by the grace of His Spirit ministered unto them by His Church ;—and, in that same holy act, have submitted, or professed to submit, themselves and their people to be instructed in God's ways from the lips of those, from whose hands they have received their anointing. Christendom is one corporate body ;—separated from all other nations of the earth, in that they recognize the doctrines of Jesus Christ as the basis of their international law, and of their dealings one with another ;—distinguishable from all other nations, in that, by their legitimate organs, they have been brought as nations into covenant with God ; and thus, entitled to all the blessings, responsible for all the duties, and exposed to all the judgments attendant on, and involved in, such covenant ;—and yet, as nations, distinguishable one from another ; each governed by their legitimate rulers, whose authority is neither diminished nor increased, but sanctified, by their profession of the true faith, and by the anointing which they have received at the hands of the ministers of God.

¹ Rom. viii. 19.

It is to this Church we address ourselves through her Bishops, on whom, with their clergy under them, has devolved the ministry of that priestly office which was constituted on the day of Pentecost; and to whom, as trustees thereof, in their several places and parochial jurisdictions and dioceses, the souls of the baptized are committed by our Lord Jesus Christ, the Great Shepherd of the sheep.

To this Christendom also, the nations in covenant with God, through *their* anointed heads, their Kings and all their chief governors, whose acknowledged duty is to rule by God's laws and to hear His word from His Church, we address ourselves. And we beseech your patient audience, Holy Fathers of the Church, and Royal Potentates and Dignities, imploring you, for Christ's sake and in His name, that you will not cast aside our word unheard, or rashly and before consideration account it our presumption.

The ever-living and unchangeable God, who, at the first, out of darkness commanded the light to shine, hath in all His dealings with mankind shown Himself the same God, merciful and gracious and ready to forgive. And ever, when men through their iniquities have brought themselves into misery, hath He been present in their darkest hour, not only to deliver them from the existing evil, but to carry them forward in His purpose of mercy and grace. When man had sinned, and all creation seemed thereby involved in ruin irretrievable, He was swift to give promise of salvation, through the seed even of her who was first in the transgression. Afterwards, when the sons of God had corrupted themselves, and the world of the ungodly was ready to be destroyed, He warned Noah to prepare an ark for the saving of his house. And after the flood, when men had forsaken the worship of the true God, He called Abraham and his seed to be the faithful ones in the midst of surrounding idolatry. He delivered them from the idols and the bondage of

Egypt by the hand of Moses and Aaron. He committed unto them His lively oracles.¹ He constituted them the depository of the hope of the World. He brought them in peace into the land of their possession. And many times in their own land He heard their cry, and raised up judges to deliver them from the oppression of their enemies, into whose hands He was compelled to give them up.² When, because of their sins, they were carried away into Babylon, thither He followed them, and brought them back to build again the city of their fathers and the temple of their God. And at length when, under the form of godliness, the surest covert for apostasy's most fatal work, with an hypocritical zeal for that law which by their traditions they made void,³ they had filled up the measure of their iniquities ;—when because of these things He had suffered His kingdom of priests, His peculiar people, to be degraded to the lowest condition in which they could subsist as a polity ;—when His temple had been profaned, and His holy city, the city of the Great King, trampled under foot ;—when the voice of the prophet had long been silent, and all the signs of God's presence and protection had disappeared ;⁴—when His promise seemed to fail, and His mercy to be clean gone for ever ;⁵—then were His promise and His mercy nighest to accomplishment. The fulness of time had arrived,⁶ and God sent forth His only begotten Son, by the Holy Ghost to become flesh, and to be born of the blessed Virgin, “A light to lighten the Gentiles, and the glory of His people Israel.”⁷ And when the Lord of Glory, the Light of Life, had been crucified, slain, and buried, He raised Him from the dead, the first-fruits of them that slept, and, by the giving of the Holy Ghost, constituted His Church—His Temple, making His dwelling among men. And although, at times, His Church hath been brought to extremest straits, hath

¹ Acts vii. 38. Rom. iii. 2.² Judges ii. 16.³ Matt. xxiii. 32.⁴ Psalm lxxiv. 9.⁵ lxxvii. 8.⁶ Gal. iv. 4.⁷ Luke ii. 32.

been threatened with utter destruction from external violence, hath seemed to be immersed in internal corruptions wherein life was all but extinct, yet hath God still preserved His people ;—the Lord Jesus Christ hath still proved the Rock of Salvation to His Church ;—and now at this day, and at this late hour of the history of the world and of the history of the Church, God hath still His anointed priests, to whom He can again make known His will for the obedience of faith.

And is not this the time that God should come forth to visit His people ? that He should lift up His voice unto all, who yet abide faithful in the midst of the overflowings of the ungodly ? When on every side we hear the roaring of the sea and the waves ;¹ when those, who think in their heart that the time hath come to cast down all thrones and to overthrow God's altars, are rising up against all faith and reverence, and taking counsel against God's anointed ; when men's hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking for those things which are coming on the earth ; shall not God, who is ever the same God, who never forsaketh His Church, arise and rebuke the madness of the people, assure the hearts of His children who are looking up to Him for help, reprove iniquity, and separate between the clean and the unclean ? Above all, shall He not appear to the help of the anointed priests of His altar, and of the anointed kings of Christendom, renewing to them the assurance, that His power is theirs for the fulfilment of all their duties, and that, while the gates of hell seem to be prevailing against the Church of the living God, it was no vain word with which Jesus Christ our Lord bade farewell to His Apostles :—"All power is given unto me in Heaven and in earth." "Lo ! I am with you always, even to the end of the world."²

None can doubt the fearful dangers which surround you on every side, or the need of every support and counsel which God

¹ Luke xxi. 25.

² Matt. xxviii. 18, 20.

can give, whether we look to the removing of all ancient landmarks, the breaking up of all ordinances of life, the decay of reverence in all for those set over them in the Lord, in children for their parents, in servants for their masters, in subjects for those in authority over them ; or whether we regard the contempt for the priestly office, and the denial of the holiest truths of God as irrational ; or lastly, that open and unblushing avowal by the infidel and revolutionist of their fixed determination to complete the work which the revolution of the last century left unfinished, by the disorganization of all ancient principles, moral, religious, or political, and by the destruction of all established institutions in Church and State ; and to establish a new era of atheistic anarchy, under the name of liberalism, on the ruins of the Christian Faith and of the governments at present existing.

None can be ignorant how many hate the Christian Faith on its own account ; how many more unite in the assault upon it, because it is the stronghold of government and good order ; and in what unhallowed union many, even professedly religious, but led away by false maxims of an unreal and pretended liberality, are banded with infidels to effect the destruction of the Christian constitution of the nations of Europe—the alliance between Church and State—not only in those corrupted modes of alliance, wherein the Church has been degraded to be the bondmaid of the state, or the state subjected to the priesthood and its power usurped by them,—but in those the most legitimate—in every form wherein religion can have any influence or interposition in the affairs of human government. And of those who are not arrayed in the ranks of the assailants, how few understand the nature of the Christian calling, the authority of the Christian priest, or the standing of the Christian king ! To rule “by the grace of God,” the ancient title of a Christian king, is still retained as a form in most monarchies of Europe ; but in how few is it more than an obsolete memorial, a last-surviving

spark of the sense of obligations formerly felt to be existing, on the part of the ruler to God and His Church, and on the part of the subject to the vicegerent of Christ ! And the peril of the present times consists not merely in the progress already made in the work of destruction and demoralization, but in the universal forgetfulness of what is the Christian Church, or of what is a Christian monarchy—a national covenant with God.

It is because men have forgotten these things, that the body of the baptized are seen this day torn and rent into a thousand sects ; separated in outward forms both of administration and of worship, in doctrines, and in their whole spirit from one another—biting, and devouring, and ready to consume one another ; and either on the one hand contented that it should be so, discerning neither the Body of the Lord, that it is One, nor the guilt of schism ; or else anathematizing all others but themselves, and leaving them to perish as reprobrates,—forgetting the Brotherly Covenant, the Holy Name which is affixed in common on all the baptized. Among the priests themselves, there is every variety and shade of opinion on matters of doctrine and discipline. The unity even of the Roman Catholic Church is but an empty name. Without the pale in which she has fenced herself by her anathemas, the Greek and Protestant Churches comprise as many in number as herself. Within, her unity extends only to symbols of faith and external rites of worship, (and even in these, she allows diversity, as for instance, in many of the “Greek united” bodies,) while in the heart of her clergy there is as much divergence and separateness as elsewhere ; and not the less that it is concealed under an outward cloak, a profession of agreement.

Because of this ignorance, also, it is, that the universal cry is echoing round the world, that power is from the people, and they the legitimate source thereof ;—striking at the very root of

all ancient obedience ; constituting every man the judge of whom he will obey ; making governors the servants of the governed, and responsible immediately to man for the fulfilment of the duties of offices entrusted to them by God. And thus it results that monarchy is assailed as tyranny ;—all rule or constraint over the passions of men is resented as a thing contrary to man's natural rights ;—every attempt to control the press, even when employed in the corruption of morals, or the propagation of open sedition, is reprobated ;—and the great body of the people in every land, ignorant of true principles, and corrupted with infidel maxims, are prepared to be the ready instruments in the hands of those who are, or aspire to be, their leaders. In some countries in Europe the danger may be less instant, and the people, for the present, may be repressed by military force ; but the same desolating principles are at work in all. Nor are they confined to the lowest class. Every rank in life, from the peasant to the noble, is pervaded by them. In the provinces the evil may be less manifest, because less called into action. But in towns its concentrated energy is developed : here are the strongholds of Satan ; here all wicked passions and tendencies take root and grow ; in these are fostered the maxims of atheism and licentiousness unrestrained, hatred of authority, envy of wealth, and of rank, and of goodness ; here crimes of every description are contrived and practised ; here are conceived the schemes of sedition, and rebellion, and infidelity, of destruction and robbery : and from town to town the people are banded together for the work of ruin.

And those in offices of rule both in the Church and in the State themselves need to guard against the tendency to the self-same error. If the Clergy will limit their notions of the Church to those of their own sect ; if they will forget that the whole of the baptized are their flock, their children, whether prodigal or dutiful, whether wanderers from the fold, or faithful to their

Shepherd's voice ; if they will cut off and cast away from them all who are wayward or disobedient, and will not hold them fast with the cords of love, wherewith God Himself hath bound their people to them ;—then do they manifest to the people how low is their own estimate of the holy covenant of God, the family tie of His household ; and induce them by example to think lightly of their Father's house, and as lightly to depart therefrom. Alas ! the Church of Christ has experienced full often in her history, that forwardness to excommunicate is the readiest way to render communion cheap.

And if the Kings and Rulers will not remember that government is God's ordinance for the benefit of the governed, and not of those who govern ; if they will exercise their authority to gratify the lust of power or of vengeance, and forget that they are, not the tyrants, but, the fathers of their people,—and the fathers of all, not of a party ; if they will not manifest God, who is the benefactor and sustainer of all His creatures, but exhibit man, oppressing his fellow-man ;—this is to rule, not by "God's grace," but by the will of man, or rather by brute force ; and thus do they furnish their subjects with a ready argument, that rule and authority are of man, and, being so, should be exercised by the many rather than by the few.

But if the anointed King, or the anointed Minister of God, do wilfully consent to the wickedness of these last days of civil and religious licentiousness ; if out of a false principle of deference to popular opinion, or for present ease, or for worldly interest or honours, they consent to abdicate their standing as the ordinance of God, to recognize the people as the source of their authority, or to exercise that authority in obedience to its ever-changing voice ; if the Priests of God do consent to stand as the ministers, not of the One Church, but of one of the many sects admitted into the temple, and whose idol is inscribed

among the objects, of the pantheistic worship of the age ; if the rulers in the state will veil the authority which God hath committed to them before the usurped majesty of the people, and will govern, not according to God's Laws which are eternal, but according to a supposed expediency, ever varying, because dependent on the fitful movements of the people ;—if any have fallen into this fatal snare, and will not repent of their wickedness, and will not, so far as they legitimately can and are free to do it, correct the error of their way, and will not look to God to deliver them in as far as they have involved themselves in bondage to those over whom they should bear rule ;—then indeed hath the disease reached the very centre of life—God is not merely rejected but betrayed, and He hath no further dealing in store, but the out-pouring of the vials of consuming judgment.

Nor are these principles affected by diversities in the forms of government, whether the supreme power is distributed among many, or vested in the person of one. It matters not who are the organs for exercising that supreme power. Our words are as applicable to the chief magistrate in a republic, and to the spirit wherein he is bound to exercise an authority defined by the law of the commonwealth, as to the most arbitrary monarch. Power must be exercised on a principle of strict duty and responsibility to God, and not in compliance with the wayward passions of the subject :—for the source of it is God, and not the people.

But whatever the past conduct, or whatever the present dispositions, of those who bear rule in Church and State, the fearful crisis to which the affairs of both are hastening is apparent to all men. Some may flatter themselves that they have the means and the ability to stem the current ; some may conceive the hope that they can rule in the whirlwind, and give

direction to its violence ; but the wise and the prudent, even of the children of this world, think not so. These descry the approaching storm of revolution darkening the world's horizon, the dawn of a day of wrath and of portentous gloom,¹ wherein are shrouded events and issues which they anxiously endeavour to anticipate, but which baffle calculation. The most skilful await, with perplexed minds, the certain evils which they know not how to avert :—those who are still faithful to God, so far as they have knowledge of His ways—of the subjection due to the powers ordained by Him,—and of the dignity of the Church, the espoused bride of Jesus Christ—do mourn over despised authority and the degradation of all that once was esteemed holy, and honourable, and venerable : and if yet they hold fast their hope and trust in God, they know not from what quarter to expect deliverance, nor by what means it shall be vouchsafed. Meanwhile the tumult of those who rise up against God increaseth continually, and the transgressors are coming to the full.² The principles, which in the last century were for the most part confined to France, and which prepared the way for the former revolution there, are now at work in every country of Europe, displayed ostentatiously in all the popular literature, and forming the basis of every popular harangue. And the means for arresting the catastrophe are fearfully lessened, and diminishing every day. Already the hand of sacrilegious spoliation hath been stretched on the property of the Church in most countries of Europe. The first act thereof hath established the principle and precedent. The first morsel of the prey hath whetted the appetite for more. And that spirit of lingering concession, which proclaims the unwillingness of those in power to concede, and yet their inability to refuse, serves only to accumulate elements of greater mischief ; sapping deeper and more surely ; enlarging the capacity and inflaming the desire for ill ;—until the flood of iniquity, no longer to be

¹ Zeph. i. 14, 15, 16.

² Dan. viii. 23.

restrained, shall burst through every feeble barrier, and subvert and carry away with it every sentiment of loyalty, and all remaining piety and fear of God, from among the people at large.

There are those who admit the reality and the fearful character of the approaching dangers ; but who dream that this is a passing tempest, which, however destructive in its progress, shall effect the removal of the infectious principles which have disorganized society. Vain illusion ! “MENE, MENE, TEKEL, UPHARSIN,” “God hath numbered thy kingdom and finished it,”¹ the time of the end is come ; “thou art weighed in the balances and art found wanting ;” “thy kingdom is divided and given to others ;” is written upon every earthly institution, whether civil or ecclesiastical, as surely as it was written of old on the palace wall of the king of Babylon. And if deliverance is to be obtained, God must reveal the causes of the evils and the way of escape. For these things are the judgments of God upon those who have forgotten Him, and His ways and works of old ; they are the vengeance of the Lord for a broken covenant,—“the curse” which approacheth, to devour the earth, “because the earth is defiled under the inhabitants thereof, because they have transgressed the laws, changed the ordinances, broken the everlasting covenant.”² O be not deceived. Church of the living God, Nations of the baptized ! This is no passing cloud, no transitory evil, no fortuitous or temporary event, from which ye shall again emerge, remaining as ye were. The occurrence of past trials from which ye have emerged, and all experience of former history, fail you here. They occurred in ages, wherein the ignorance of the mass of mankind was at once the nursery of the danger, and the unconscious means of preserving better principles. But now all is exposed : every region of the intellect of man is explored, every faculty perverted into a stronghold of Satan ; and men are found his ready

¹ Dan. v. 25—28.

² Isaiah xxiv. 5, 6.

instruments, addressing themselves sternly, intelligently, and advisedly to advance his work. This is no time of ignorance ; "knowledge is increased,"¹ every branch of it, save the knowledge of God and His ways ; while His fear, which is "the beginning of all wisdom,"² is departing from the earth. And yet there is a refuge, a sure hiding-place, an inner sanctuary, a place of defence ; and that refuge and that sanctuary is in His Church : but it shall be attained only by a return to the ancient paths from which we have long strayed ;³ by a renunciation of the long-cherished sins, which have grieved God, and caused Him to depart from us ; and by the restitution to a people seeking the Lord their God with repentant tears,⁴ of the bulwarks of Zion, those defences of the Vineyard of the Lord,⁵ the Ordinances, the Eternal Ordinances of Jesus Christ, by which the believers were at the first constituted His Church, and which He gave, that God the Lord might dwell among us.⁶ Where He dwells, there is the Tabernacle, for a shadow in the day-time from the heat, for a place of refuge, when the blast of the terrible ones is as a storm against the wall.⁷

Wherefore, with the respectful entreaty due to your sacred offices, we beseech you, Most Reverend Fathers, who are charged with the souls of all God's children—and you, Sovereign Princes, whose authority from God is supreme over all your subjects, ecclesiastical or lay, and whose thrones we approach with the homage due to God's anointed—that ye will listen to the message which we bring to your ears, if haply ye may find that God has indeed visited His people, as in the days of old. And though we must open the secret springs and sources of the evils wherein Christendom is involved, and of the far more fearful evils which are impending, by tracing the sins of Kings and Priests during many generations, and the

¹ Dan. xii. 4.² Prov. ix. 10.³ Jer. vi. 16.⁴ Jer. i. 4, 5.⁵ Isaiah v. 2—5.⁶ Psalm lxxviii. 18.⁷ Isaiah xxv. 4.

failure and apostasy of the baptized ; yet shall ye find, that God hath not forsaken, nor our God forgotten us.—And may His grace be with you, that ye may hear and understand.

THE EVERLIVING GOD, who by His Word created the heavens and the earth and all things that are therein, made man in His own image, and gave unto him commission to subdue the earth and have dominion over every living thing that moveth thereon.* God made him and all things very good, and gave him this one command, that, while of every tree of the garden wherein He placed him he might freely eat, of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil he should not eat ; for in the day that he should eat thereof, he should surely die.

And man did eat, and with him this creation fell ; by him sin entered into the world, and death by sin.¹ The image of God was marred, His creatures were involved in misery, and His handywork became a ruin.

But God who is rich in mercy, for His great love wherewith He loved us, hath devised the means whereby He might deliver and restore His creation, and fulfil all His purpose in man. Forth from His bosom He sent the Son of His love, who, for our salvation, and for love of us, laid aside the eternal glory, and though begotten *before* all worlds, being God of God, very God of very God, was born *in* the world, being conceived of the Holy Ghost and born of the Virgin Mary. He was made flesh and dwelt among us. He assumed that predestinated form, after which man was at the first created. He took hold of the seed of Adam, even of the seed of Abraham,² and bound

¹ Rom. v. 12.

² Heb. ii. 16.

it for ever in Himself, in indissoluble union with Godhead ;— God and man in one person for ever united, God and man through one person for ever reconciled, without possibility of disruption ; the fallen creature redeemed unto God, beyond possibility of future fall ; life brought out of death by resurrection—regenerate life—life which shall never die ; and to those who are made partakers of this life and overcome, He shall give to sit down with Him on His throne, even as He also overcame, and is set down with His Father on His throne :¹ and thus, in the eternal stability of that kingdom, God's purpose in creation shall be accomplished : for the world to come shall be subjected to man, and he shall have dominion over all the works of God's hands.²

And God hath herein declared His righteousness, that He might be just, and the justifier of him who believeth in Jesus : for by His holy life the God-man did approve Himself a Lamb without spot or blemish,³ and by His death offered up an all-atoning sacrifice for us. He suffered for sins, the just for the unjust,⁴ and He is the propitiation for our sins, and the sins of the whole world,⁵ and hath redeemed us unto God, not with silver or gold, but with His own most precious blood. Therefore also the Father hath highly exalted Him, and hath given assurance to all men that His offering and sacrifice are accepted for us, in that He raised Him from the dead and set Him at His own right hand. And, being ascended thither, He hath received of the Father the promise of the Holy Ghost,⁶ whom He bestoweth upon those who believe, that they should be builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit ;⁷ that as lively stones they should be built up a spiritual house, an holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices acceptable to God through Jesus Christ.⁸ Know ye not, O ye baptized, that

¹ Rev. iii. 21.² Heb. ii. 7, 8.³ 1 Peter i. 19.⁴ 1 Peter iii. 18.⁵ 1 John ii. 2.⁶ Acts ii. 33.⁷ Ephes. ii. 22.⁸ 1 Peter ii. 5.

your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God ; and ye are not your own? for ye are bought with a price : therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's.¹

Thus God declared in a mystery, by the creation of Adam in His own image, the future glory of man, and the future stability of the universe under his rule : and by the succeeding history of Adam, He hath, also in a mystery, revealed the future glory of the Church as the bride of the Lamb, the partner of His throne. For it is written,² "The Lord God caused a deep sleep to fall upon Adam, and he slept, and He took one of his ribs and closed up the flesh instead thereof ; and the rib which the Lord God had taken from man, made He a woman, and brought her unto the man : and Adam said, This is now bone of my bones and flesh of my flesh ;—therefore shall a man leave his father and his mother, and shall cleave unto his wife : and they shall be one flesh." And the Apostle St. Paul gives a commentary hereon in his Epistle to the Ephesians ;³ for he saith, "Christ also loved the Church, and gave Himself for it ; that He might sanctify and cleanse it with the washing of water by the word, that He might present it to Himself, a glorious Church, not having spot, or wrinkle, or any such thing ; but that it should be holy and without blemish." "He that loveth his wife, loveth himself ; for no man ever yet hated his own flesh ; but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord the Church : for we are members of His body, of His flesh, and of His bones." And then, repeating the words of Adam, "for this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh. This is a great mystery : but I speak concerning Christ and the Church." Oh ! glorious mystery of the Church's calling, to be of His flesh and of His bones ; although distinct and separate

¹ 1 Cor. vi. 19.² Gen. ii. 21—24.³ Eph. v. 25—32.

from Him—ever infinitely inferior in respect of the dignity of His Divine Person,—yet for ever raised to His throne, and partner of His glory! Oh! infinite condescension of the adorable Son of God, through His own sacrifice and sufferings to present us unto Himself, a glorious Church, without spot or wrinkle! It shall be accomplished in His gathered people, and the voice of many thunderings shall proclaim “Halleluia, for the Lord God omnipotent reigneth: let us be glad and rejoice, and give honour to Him, for the marriage of the Lamb is come, and His wife hath made herself ready.”¹ And the time must arrive when this word shall be fulfilled, for it is written in the Scriptures of truth concerning the future glory of the Church: and it is her highest duty to hold fast the hope of this glory; to seek to be prepared to meet her Lord, her Spouse: to long for His appearing, when He who is now at the right hand of the Father, having gone before to prepare a place for His disciples, shall come again and receive them to Himself, that where He is, there they may be,² beholding His glory, invested with His glory;³ for they shall be like Him, they shall see Him as He is.⁴ Oh! as the travailing woman (such is the figure which the Lord Himself prophetically depicteth for His disciples, while He should be away), as the woman when she is in travail hath sorrow, because her hour is come, so should they have sorrow until He see them again: and then their heart shall rejoice, and their joy no man shall take from them.⁵

Such is the eternal purpose of God in His Church: and the means for effectuating this purpose—the means by which man, born in iniquity and conceived in sin, is made partaker of this salvation—may be comprised under two heads: the sacraments of life, and the ministries ordained of God for fulfilling the functions of that life. These two heads correspond to that

¹ Rev. xix. 6, 7.

² John xiv. 2, 3.

³ John xvii. 22—24.

⁴ 1 John iii. 2.

⁵ John xvi. 21, 22.

twofold purpose of God just pointed out ; His purpose, namely, in man considered abstractedly ; and, in the Church considered as the body of Christ, the bride to be prepared for His coming : they correspond in like manner to the twofold work of Jesus Christ on earth ; His life in flesh, wherein He was our example, holy, harmless, separate from sinners ; and the witness which He bore to God as the Revealer of the Father, the Doer of the Father's works, the Bearer of His message, the Introducer of the Dispensation of the Gospel unto men.

The sacraments ordained of Jesus Christ, and having more direct and immediate reference to that life which God hath given to us in His Son, are, the sacrament of baptism, ordained for communicating the same by regeneration from the Lord Jesus Christ, who is the second Adam, the quickening Spirit ; and the sacrament of the Lord's supper, whereby the same life is sustained, reinvigorated, and renewed, and its manifested activity is effectually insured.

In the sacrament of Baptism, God doth use the element of water, for the washing away of sins, and for saving us (in the answer of a good conscience towards God) by the resurrection of Jesus Christ.¹ It is the washing of regeneration, whereby God of His great mercy saveth us ;² for we, who were dead in trespasses and sins,³ are therein born again of the Holy Ghost :⁴ the sons of God, born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God ;⁵ and by the communication of that life we become verily and indeed members of the risen Lord Jesus Christ,⁶ over whom death hath no more dominion ; living branches of the true vine :⁷ and so St. Paul reminds us, in his Epistle to the Romans, that we are buried

¹ 1 Peter iii. 21.

⁴ John iii. 5.

² Titus iii. 5.

⁵ John i. 12, 13.

⁷ John xv. 5.

³ Ephes. ii. 1—5.

⁶ Ephes. v. 30.

with Christ by baptism into death, that, like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of life ; and that, knowing that our old man is crucified with Him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, we are to reckon ourselves to be dead indeed unto sin, but alive unto God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.¹

In the sacrament of the Holy Communion, the life which hath been thus bestowed is continually nourished, by eating of the flesh and drinking of the blood of Jesus Christ. The bread which is broken in the Church of Christ is verily and indeed the communion of His body,² from which the life was poured out upon the cross, but in which, now raised from the dead, the risen and glorified body, resides the eternal life. The cup which is blessed in the Church of Christ is verily and indeed the communion of His blood, and therein the faithful are made to drink into that one Spirit ;³ it is the wine of the kingdom,⁴ the wine of joy and gladness, the cup of salvation. And this is the true and proper and ordained efficacy of this holy sacrament, that, by the mighty operation of God, the living members of the body of Christ are brought into such nearness of communion, such oneness with Him, such mutual indwelling, He in them and they in Him, such fellowship of His power and grace,—that the virtues of His glorified humanity should as naturally and spontaneously be put forth through them, as grapes by the living branches of a vine ; they are pledged to show forth the very life of Christ in mortal flesh, as it is written,—“ He which saith, he abideth in Him, ought himself also to walk even as He walked ; ”⁵ and again, “ whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day.” “ He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood dwelleth in me, and I in him.” “ As the

¹ Rom. vi. 4—11. ² 1 Cor. x. 16. ³ 1 Cor. xii. 13.

⁴ Mark xiv. 25.

⁵ 1 John ii. 6.

living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father, so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me."¹

Baptism alone marks off the Church from the world ; every distinction, by which the people of God are represented as only a part of the baptized, is an invention of men, making covenants of their own with God, and usurping His judgment. By the flesh and blood of Jesus Christ alone do His people live ; and any other means of support, which supersedes this, is also a mere expedient of men, feeding upon husks, and feeding themselves without fear.² For the Church of God is not a fleeting, fluctuating, intangible abstraction, dependent upon the separations, the confederacies, the opinions, or the actions of men ; but a certain and stable constitution of God, brought into being by His act, and standing by virtue of visible and tangible symbols ordained by Him ; and those visible and tangible symbols, in themselves and to the senses of men so utterly inadequate to effect any spiritual work, are the test and trial, and, duly received, are the very triumph of faith ; a constant memorial and effectual demonstration that the existence, form, and continuance of the Church proceed from God alone, and in no way from the men who compose it. And they are not empty signs of unreal things ; neither are they merely the most suitable forms devised by God or adopted by convention of men for the expression of spiritual truths ; nor yet are they merely commemorative of blessings otherwise or collaterally obtained, or invisibly enjoyed ; but they are present actings of Christ in the midst of His people, and do operate that which they express ; they are *sacraments*, sure pledges of His love and faithfulness in bestowing the blessings by them, the which He ordained them to convey. They seal by their very administration the covenant of God, the blessings contained in that covenant, and the responsibilities involved therein ; so that every

¹ John vi. 54—56.

² Jude 12.

baptized man shall be judged by the covenant as one who hath received the life of God, and every one who has partaken of the bread and of the wine shall be judged as a partaker of the body and blood of the Lord, and can find no retreat, but only a progress onward, either to perfect salvation, or to utter and eternal apostasy.

But these holy rites can only be administered, according to the law of God's Church, by those who have received authority thereto; and this authority can proceed only from the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of His Church, either directly, or through those whom He useth for conferring it. We come therefore to the second class of those means, by which God's purpose in the Church is effected; namely, the ministries ordained of God, by which the Lord Jesus Christ ministers in His Church, for the perfecting of the saints, and for bearing witness to the world.

But we first observe that the Lord Jesus Christ, the Head of His body the Church, is distinct from all other beings, and none other is like Him. He hath fulfilled that specific work which He wrought for man's salvation, and no other work, nor that work in any other way, because such specifically was the Father's will: it was so, because exactly adapted to the end to be attained; and therefore in no other way could that end have been attained according to God's purpose. So also is it with the Church, the *body* of Christ: none other can be the body of Christ, and therefore none other can be like it. It is what it is, by God's ordination and constitution, for the accomplishment of a specific end and purpose, and is adapted in all the completeness of its parts to that end. If therefore God's purpose is to be accomplished, the Church cannot be different from, or other than, that which He constituted it; and if at any time it have deviated from its original constitution, if the instrumentality ordained of

God be in any of its parts deficient, that deviation must be overruled and corrected, and that which has become defective must be restored. The time must arrive when this purpose shall be accomplished, and in the way and by the means which God hath indicated ; for His Church shall never fail—it is the body of His Son ; therefore, when that time arrives, the Church shall be found comprising the total instrumentality with which God furnished it, and manifested in the full proportion of all those parts, in which He constituted it at the beginning.

Again, the witness which God giveth of Himself to the world is not by a confused and heterogeneous mass ; but by one harmoniously organized, visible body. God is unchangeable ; and the character of the Church can no more be changed, than the character of Him who ordained it in all its parts. Its character is such as He Himself describes in His word ; and no assembly, confederacy, association, or body, of any kind whatsoever, or what name soever it may take, is the Church of God as it is in His contemplation and purpose, unless it answer the description He has given of it.

Now the apostle Paul, as in many passages of his epistles casually and unconnectedly, so most fully and distinctly in his first epistle to the Corinthians and in his epistle to the Ephesians, declares what is the constitution of the Church as framed of God, what are its principal memberships and parts, and what is the end and purpose to be accomplished in the Church by the co-operations and mutual ministrations of those several parts ; from whence we extract the following passages :—In his first epistle to the Corinthians, the twelfth chapter, after setting forth the diversities of gifts in divers men, in the body of Christ, (the which he illustrates under the figure of the human body, and that body he declares “is not one member, but many members, yet but one body,” whereof each,

hath need of all the others,) he saith, "Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular—and God hath set some in the Church; first, apostles; secondarily, prophets; thirdly, teachers; after that, miracles; then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues."¹ And in his epistle to the Ephesians, the fourth chapter, he saith, "There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling; one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. Wherefore He saith, when He ascended up on high, He led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men." "And He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers; for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ: that we henceforth be no more children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive; but, speaking the truth in love, may grow up into Him in all things, which is the head, even Christ; from whom the whole body, fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love."²

Of the four classes or orders of men, under which, in the last passage quoted, the apostle sums up the ministries of the Christian Church, including those expressly mentioned in the former passage quoted, each one is, as we know, for a special and specific work, which work cannot be efficiently fulfilled by

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 27—31.

² Ephes. iv. 4—16.

any of the others, forasmuch as each is the specific and eternally ordained instrument and ordinance, by which God would fulfil its appropriate work ; and each has its distinct and respective relation to man, each has its several work to effect in every man, and each has its respective correspondence to the varying characters of men. One man is more open to the influence of authority and wisdom, which is the specialty of the apostle ; the conscience of another is more readily convicted by prophetic utterance ;¹ a third is more easily persuaded by the hearing of the glad tidings, preached by the evangelist ; while others are fitter subjects for the care of the pastor and readier disciples of the teacher, at whose feet they find themselves sitting in the first moments of spiritual consciousness. And this is as true of the operation of these ministries within the border of the Church, as to the world without : the saints must be perfected, not only by the indirect, but by the direct ministration of each of these ministries, and so the work of the ministry, internally, as well as externally, be fulfilled. It is not through the instrumentality of any one or two, but by receiving the blessing of all, that the child shall grow up into the perfect man ; forasmuch as it is God's law and ordinance in His Church, that by these four means, and neither by more nor by fewer, that growth shall be attained. For these are each and altogether necessary to the revealing of God and the showing forth of His glory ; they are the gifts, in the giving and receiving whereof God the Lord vouchsafes to dwell among men ;² and to this very end they were given. In other words, they are the ordinances, whereby the essential goodness and blessings which are in God are manifested to the world, and poured into the bosom of the Church. They were ordained of God, because exactly adapted to those very ends, or rather they are the necessary and so the eternally ordained channels, whereby that Divine Goodness and those

¹ 1 Cor. xiv. 25.² Psalm lxviii. 18.

blessings find their spontaneous means of manifestation and conveyance to man : and so far forth as they are withdrawn, and are not all and each existing in full exercise, His goodness is obscured, His blessings intercepted in their passage to the Church, and the Church fails to be the dwelling-place of God, the abode of His glory, and the declarer of His manifold wisdom to the principalities and powers in Heavenly places.¹

Therefore was it that the Lord Jesus Christ, the revealer of the Father (for every one who saw Him had seen the Father²), did bear in Himself all these offices when upon earth. He was the Apostle of our profession,³ the Sent of God,⁴ filled with wisdom of God, in words of wisdom and holy doctrine, in wisdom of conduct and rule ; He was the Prophet mighty in word and in deed,⁵ the revealer of the mysteries of God, the interpreter of His word ; He was the Evangelist, the preacher of the Gospel to the poor, the anointed healer of the sick,⁶ the wounded, and the maimed ; He was the good Shepherd who laid down His life for the sheep, the teacher sent from God.⁷

In like manner God is still to be revealed by Christ Jesus, in His body the Church. Christ Himself is at the right hand of God ; He alone is the container of all the fulness of God, and concentrates in Himself all the rays of the Divine Glory : "for it pleased the Father that in Him should all fulness dwell."⁸ And all we receive only out of His fulness, and grace answering to grace,⁹ and each one of us only according to our measure ; (for, saith the apostle, "as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office, so we, being many, are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another," and our gifts do "differ according to the grace that is given to us."¹⁰)

¹ Ephes. iii. 10.² John xiv. 9, 10.³ Heb. iii. 1.⁴ John iii. 34.⁵ Acts iii. 22.⁶ Isaiah lxi. 1 ; Matt. xi. 3—5.⁷ John x. 11.⁸ Col. i. 19.⁹ John i. 16, 17.¹⁰ Rom. xii. 4—6.

Whence it follows that all the four offices, whereby God should be known and communicated, and which were centred in Jesus Christ, must still be exercised in His Church, and each by separate members; and as at the first by these in His own person He witnessed to the world, He gathered His children, He blessed and comforted those He had gathered: so also by these in His Church, until the consummation of the age, He shall continue to witness, to gather, and to bless; yet not through the agency of any *one* man, for that would be to make that man the container of the incommunicable fulness, which the Lord Jesus Christ Himself alone can be; but by distributing unto the several members, and exercising through them, those several offices, each fulfilling his own functions, and no one usurping the functions of another; otherwise the proprieties of the several parts of the body would be violated, and one member would be enabled to say to another, "I have no need of thee."¹

For the Church is not a phantom of the imagination, nor is it merely a figure of speech to call it the "body of Christ," or its several parts members of that body; the Church is a reality, visible, tangible, definite—a community of men disposed in various relations one to the other, and to Himself, their head, in so true and real an union, that the human body can only imperfectly represent, nay is but an outward type and shadow of the Church, which is the great original and archetype in the mind and purpose of God. Nor are these gifts which He received for men, and gave to men, impersonal influences, nor abstractions; but they are themselves living men, by whom the fulness which is in Himself is, by the operation of the Holy Ghost, dispensed unto the Church; therefore saith the apostle, "When He ascended up on high, He gave gifts (*δῶματα*) unto men, and He gave some *men* (*τοὺς μὲν*, not *τὰ*) (*men*, not *gifts*),

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 21.

apostles ; and some *men*, prophets ; and some *men*, evangelists ; and some *men*, pastors and teachers." ¹

And again, they are not given for a time which hath already expired—the object to be attained by them hath not yet been accomplished, and by them alone can it be accomplished ; for the saints are not yet perfected ; the work of the ministry hath not yet found its termination ; the body of Christ is not yet edified ; the whole people of God have not yet arrived in unity of faith unto the perfect man, the measure of the stature of Christ's fulness ; the Church hath not as yet been prepared as a spotless virgin, for the marriage of the Lamb.² And until these ends be accomplished, and that which is perfect be come,³ the instruments of God's appointment for effecting them cannot be dispensed with, and ought not to be suspended in their operations. This will appear more evident from a consideration of the distinct offices of these several ministries.

Scripture discloses to us that the distinct and definite objects for which apostles were bestowed are—to be the heads under Christ, and supreme rulers of the Catholic Church ; to be the fountains and the teachers of the doctrine of the Church ; and lastly, to bestow the Holy Ghost by the laying on of their hands, whether for sealing all who believe, or for ordaining the Ministers of the House of God. And in the third and last of these functions the two former are virtually involved ; for the ordinance through which the Holy Ghost is ministered unto the Church, in anointing the priests of God, in sealing and confirming the saints, and imparting the gifts of the Holy Ghost as the Spirit willeth to divide them to every man severally, must needs be that through which those ministers and all the outward matters of administration shall be ordered, and the mind of the

¹ Ephes. iv. 11.

² Rev. xix. 7.

³ 1 Cor. xiii. 10.

Church shall be directed and informed. These functions none other can fulfil, so far as is revealed in Scripture, save apostles, and those only who are immediately and personally delegated by them. To apostles these duties were entrusted by the Lord Himself. Hence on them was conferred the power of the keys, of loosing and binding¹ on earth; the emblem and the pledge of that supreme rule which Jesus administered, yea and shall ever administer, by them. Hence He retained them near unto Himself, that He might instruct them, not in public only, but in private. He cleansed them by His word,² before His passion, and abode with them after His Resurrection until the day in which He was taken up,³ committing His commandments unto them, speaking of the things pertaining unto the kingdom of God, opening their understandings that they might understand the Scriptures,⁴ and giving to them, and directly and immediately to them alone, and to none other except through them, "to go and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them, and teaching them to observe all things, whatsoever He had commanded them."⁵ And hence in the last hours which He spent with them on the eve of His passion, He gave to them the promise of the Comforter, the Holy Ghost;⁶ for which promise, at His ascension, He bade them again to wait. Apostles, and apostles alone, are in Scripture declared to be the centre of authority, of doctrine, of unity in all things, to the visible Church of Christ on earth, until His second and glorious appearing "to those that look for Him without sin unto salvation." And accordingly, in the history of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles, it is declared that the converts at the first continued steadfastly in the *apostles'* doctrine and fellowship:⁷ thus was it that the possessors of lands and houses, when they sold them, brought the prices and laid them at the *apostles'* feet:⁸ thus it

¹ Matt. xvi. 19; xviii. 17, 18.² John xv. 3.³ Acts i. 3—11.⁴ Luke xxiv. 45.⁵ Matt. xxviii. 18—20; John xx. 21—23.⁶ John xiv., xv., xvi.⁷ Acts ii. 42.⁸ Acts iv. 34.

was that when the office of deacons should be brought out, it was "*the Twelve*," who called the multitude together;¹ and thus when the Church was scattered by persecution, the *apostles* abode alone at Jerusalem.² Apostles are the foundations of the Church;³ not of this Church, or of the other, but of the One, Holy, Catholic Church, hence Apostolic:—they are the base whereon the lively stones should be builded, and the perpetual means of sustaining and upholding the fabric of the Living Temple, the Church, in unity of spirit and life, of doctrine, and of government.

Such is the office of apostle, as plainly laid down in Scripture, and therein declared to be exercised. And the office of prophet is as distinct and as well defined. The prophet is the channel whereby the secret mind of God is brought into the Church by revelation; not in the form of doctrine—the doctrine of the Church is "the apostles' doctrine;"—not in the way of commandment,—"*Be mindful*," saith St. Peter, "of the words which were forespoken by the holy prophets, and of the *commandment* of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour;"⁴—but, for conveying the light of God whereby apostles may know how they should direct their course in exercising rule in the Church of Christ; for opening the hidden mysteries contained in the law and in the prophets of the Old Testament, in order that apostles may minister them forth in holy doctrine to the Church;—and in those respects fulfilling the same office, and acting personally and directly to apostles in the same relation, which the prophets of old fulfilled, and which the dispensation of the law sustained, to the Apostolical Church, the Church of the baptized; for, saith St. Peter, "unto the prophets it was revealed, that not unto themselves, but unto us, they did minister the things,

¹ Acts vi. 2.² Ephes. ii. 20; Rev. xxi. 14.³ Acts viii. 1.⁴ 2 Peter iii. 2.

which are now reported unto you by them which have preached the Gospel unto you, with the Holy Ghost sent down from Heaven ;”¹—and lastly, for declaring the mind of God concerning His servants whom He would use in the ministry, which predicted mind the apostles may effectuate by ordination ; wherefore St. Paul saith in his Epistle to Timothy, “ This charge I commit unto thee, son Timothy, according to the *prophecies* which went before on thee, that by them thou mightest war a good warfare ;”² and again he saith, “ I put thee in remembrance that thou stir up the gift of God which is in thee by the laying on of my hands ;”³ and again, “ Neglect not the gift that was given thee by *prophecy*, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery.”⁴ And in all these particulars prophets are, as it were, the complements to apostles as the foundations whereon the Church is builded ; the channels to convey the mysteries, of which apostles are the stewards ; the light shining in a dark place, by which they may guide their footsteps.⁵

The evangelist is a third gift, defined by as distinct and separate limits as the two former ; the preacher of the Gospel, ordained thereto by apostles, and receiving his mission from them⁶—sustained and nourished, fitted and furnished, in the bosom of the Apostolic Church, and thence carrying forth both the light of the truth and the power of the life—bearing the tidings of the coming kingdom, and so of the coming judgment, and the news of the ordained refuge, the Church of Christ, wherein alone is salvation—and as he goes “ healing the sick, casting out devils, raising the dead ”—and when, by preaching of the word, confirmed by the signs and miracles which God should work by him, he has drawn the hearts of the hearers to be joined to the Church, receiving them by baptism into the Church : having accomplished this, his office is fulfilled ; and

¹ 1 Peter i. 12.² 1 Tim. i. 18.³ 2 Tim. i. 6.⁴ 1 Tim. iv. 14.⁵ 2 Peter i. 19.⁶ Rom. x. 15.

straightway he proceeds on his mission of preaching the Gospel in other places, as may be seen in the example of St. Philip the evangelist, recorded in the eighth chapter of the Acts.

While such are the duties pertaining to the three ministries already mentioned—the evangelist, to gather out of the world those who should believe his word, and by baptism to impart unto them the spiritual life, which is God's sure gift and covenanted promise to those who believe ;¹ the apostle and prophet, to be the foundation, and the former to be the master-builder upon the only true foundation, Jesus Christ—the children of God, thus born into the Church, are committed to the supervision and care of the pastors and teachers ordained to this ministry by the hands of apostles.² These are they who, under apostles, are the ordinances for spiritual rule over the baptized, the guardians of their souls, as it is written, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves ; for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account."³ And again, "Know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you."⁴ By them also is the flock of God nourished with wholesome words of doctrine received from apostles, and the sheep and lambs of Jesus Christ are fed : as saith St. Paul to the elders of Ephesus, "Take heed unto yourselves, and to all the flock, over the which the Holy Ghost hath made you overseers, to feed the Church of God which He hath purchased with His own blood."⁵ And again St. Peter, to whom the Lord had specially given the same blessed charge, "The elders which are among you I exhort, who am also an elder,"—"Feed (or tend as a shepherd) the flock of God which is among you, taking the oversight thereof ;"—"And when the Chief Shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive a crown of glory that fadeth not away."⁶ And while the apostles bear the rule,

¹ John i. 12.

² Acts xiv. 23.

³ Heb. xiii. 17.

⁴ 1 Thess. v. 12.

⁵ Acts xx. 28.

⁶ 1 Peter v. 1—4.

and dispense the food of instruction, and minister the Spirit, in the universal Church (and they were in the beginning the constituted priesthood, the pastors and teachers); these are the channels for the conveyance of the like blessings within the limit of their office, and subordinately to apostles; not ministering where they list, but to "*the flock which are among them,*" and "*among whom they are.*"¹

In the earliest days of the Church at Jerusalem, the only two offices distinctly brought into operation were apostleship, the head of rule; and deaconship,² the head of obedience;—the *ἐπισκοπία*, and the *διακονία*. But the increase of the numbers of the faithful, even at Jerusalem,³ and the diffusion of the Gospel, and the gathering of distinct communities in other places,⁴ demanded the services of others in the priesthood. And hence as a necessary consequence, and as a natural law of each distinct community, resulted the Hierarchy of the Christian Church, complete in every several community, and with all the necessary relative subordinations, and proper duties of each several rank of ministry. But then all these are the fulfilment of the office of pastor and teacher to particular bodies of the baptized, and the means of bringing it down to every one individually: for though the priesthood, episcopate, and pastorship of the Christian Church are one, the essential characteristic of this fourth order of ministry is, that while the apostles are shepherds and overseers with universal jurisdiction, and with supreme authority, *this* is invested with authority derived from apostles, and bestowed for the purpose of being exercised in a limited province, and therefore is necessarily subject to the apostles. An apostle who should become a *bishop*, so far as he restricted his pastoral duties to a local district or limited number of persons, would (as a pastor) appear no longer in the character of

¹ 1 Peter v. 1, 2.

² Acts vi.

³ Acts xv. 2.

⁴ Acts xiv. 23.

apostle, but in that of *bishop*. And a bishop, who should claim universal jurisdiction, ceases from the distinctive character of a bishop, and assumes to be an apostle. Thus it is that, by the constitution of the Church of God, the one priesthood finds its universal development in the apostleship, its limited and particular exercise in the ministers of churches particular—the apostles, the one priesthood and universal episcopate; the pastors and teachers in their several grades, associated with them in that one priesthood for fulfilling the priestly office in all the churches of the saints. And as no one bishop, so not all bishops together, can fulfil the precise and definite office and continuous duties of apostle. Not only is it impracticable in the very nature of things, but God hath assigned to them their own place and duty—and apostles, not bishops, are God's ordinance for apostolic work. There would still be wanting that universal ministry which shall sum up, and express, and be the outward function of the whole, just as all the members of the body together do not constitute a man, but must be summed up in his head, which is different and distinct from all his other members. Thus Jesus in the heavens ministers, through apostles, the function of supreme rule and dispensation of the Spirit of Life, unto all in the universal Church.

For besides the difference in respect of jurisdiction, there is this further distinction between the office of apostle, and the offices of subordinate pastors, and the other ministries; that, while every ministry is a ministry of Life, the Apostolic Ministry is the ministration of the Spirit of Life *immediately* from the Lord Jesus Christ, and thus becomes the source and strength of every other ministry. It is the ordinance for bestowing the Holy Ghost, whose gifts are to be exercised by all ministers, yea by all the baptized. It is the office wherein the Lord Jesus Christ is made known as the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost.¹

¹ Matt. iii. 11.

He alone has the Holy Ghost to bestow ; and by apostles alone, according to the original constitution of the Church, did He bestow Him. And therefore when Philip had preached the Gospel with great miracles and signs at Samaria, and multitudes believed and were baptized by him, it was yet necessary that Peter and John should go down from Jerusalem, that, with imposition of hands and prayer, the disciples might receive the Holy Ghost.¹ Lastly, this distinction must also be noticed, that inasmuch as apostles were the containers of all other ministers, the basis on which all others rest in the Lord ; inasmuch as through them the gift of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Unity, was dispensed, and from them the One Faith proceeded, and by them the unity of that Faith and of discipline was preserved ; —therefore, while the number of those standing in the other offices in the Church is from the very nature of those offices unlimited, there was an equal necessity in the nature of this office, that the number of the apostles should be limited ; for universal rule cannot stand in an undefined or unlimited number. Not that the number of those who should *successively* stand in the office was limited ; for all Scripture and the undisputed traditions of the Church do plainly show, that more than twelve men in the first ages laboured as apostles : but the very name whereby they were named, “The Twelve ;” the future office of the Apostles of the Circumcision in judging the Twelve Tribes of Israel ;² the election of St. Matthias to make up the complete number ;³ and many other considerations to be gathered from Holy Scripture and the traditions of the Church, do all lead to this conclusion, that the Apostleship was Twelvefold.

These then are the principal ministries of the Body of Christ, but these are not the body. They are the active members inserted in the body, and deriving through the body all

¹ Acts viii. 14–17.

² Matt. xix. 28.

³ Acts i. 15–26.

their vigour, activity, and life. That body is the great company of the baptized, who are not merely the subjects of these ministries (although they be so, when viewed as the flock of God, committed to the care of pastors): for the Catholic Church being seen in its totality, the ministers of God are servants of the baptized for Christ's sake;¹ and as these are filled with the life and Spirit of God, with holiness and goodness and truth, so the ministers do fulfil their several duties. It is the Church, not any twelve men, which is Apostolic. It is the Church wherein the Holy Ghost doth dwell, who is thus conferred through Apostles, ministered by all the ordinances, and manifested in all the sealed members of Christ. And the question is not whether one man shall take one office of dignity, and another the other, for selfish ends of aggrandizement or pleasure; but whether the Church (not to say the unconverted world) hath not a right to Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors, and Teachers. The baptized have God's word and covenant that they shall receive the Holy Ghost; and therefore, that Apostles through whom He is ministered shall be a standing ordinance, a perpetual ministry. The baptized who have received the life of God—who are the family of God—have a right to all the means of grace which He provided in His House, as He constituted it at the beginning; “for the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.”² These constitute the Body, and by the mutual action of every part thereof, each having need of all the other, and drawing forth the virtue of the Lord through all the other (the virtue through each, which each is the appropriate ordinance to convey), the communion of joy and life should have been maintained, and the whole body have grown together, making increase of itself. Thus it had begun to be even in the very birth and first days of the Church, as it is recorded. All that were baptized “continued steadfastly *in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship*, and in breaking of bread

¹ 2 Cor. iv. 5.

² Rom. xi. 29.

and in prayers. And fear came upon every soul ; and many wonders and signs were done by the Apostles. And all that believed were together, and had all things common ; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need." " And they, continuing with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread from house to house, did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God, and having favour with all the people. And the Lord added to the church daily such as should be saved."¹ " And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and of one soul : neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own ; but they had all things common.—And with great power gave the Apostles witness of the " resurrection of the Lord Jesus : and great grace was upon them all."² And again at a later period writes the apostle Paul, " Though absent in the flesh, yet am I with you in the Spirit, joying and beholding your order, and the steadfastness of your faith in Christ."³ The unity, the love, the faith, the power, and the growth were made manifest to all men ; man was blessed, and God was glorified.

Such a Church is the witness of God, and to such God beareth witness. The testimony of two is true. As under the law no man could be put to death except under two or three witnesses,⁴ so it is His eternal purpose in the Church by a twofold witness to condemn the world of the ungodly, " which is reserved unto fire against the day of judgment and perdition of ungodly men." Our Lord Jesus Christ in the days of His flesh spake that which He knew, which He had seen and heard, and obeyed the will of His Father ; and so He bore witness of God. —But His Father also which had sent Him bore witness of Him, by the mighty works which He gave Him to do.⁵ And

¹ Acts ii. 42—47.² Acts iv. 32, 33.³ Col. ii. 5.⁴ Deut. xvii. 6 ; xix. 15.⁵ John v. 37 ; viii. 17, 18 ; x. 38.

in like manner when the baptized bear witness of Jesus, speaking in faith and obeying Him in holiness, God also beareth witness of them as the people of Christ, by the Holy Ghost, who personally dwells in the Church, working and speaking by whom He will—confirming as a second witness the testimony contained in every work of Faith. So it is written, “When the Comforter is come, whom I will send unto you from the Father, even the Spirit of Truth, which proceedeth from the Father, He shall testify of Me : and ye also shall bear witness, because ye have been with Me from the beginning.”¹ And again, “We are His witnesses of these things ; and so is also the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey Him.”² And again, “How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation ; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard Him ; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts (distributions) of the Holy Ghost, according to His own will ?”³ Without this twofold testimony, the Church does not complete her declaration of God manifest in flesh ; the ministry of Grace is not fulfilled ; and the world is not left without excuse. But when God gives power unto His people thus to witness, there is no more to be done by Him for men, because He saveth by His Church ; and He hath no more witness to take against man, because He witnesseth by His Church. And *then* the world shall fill up its cup—judgment shall linger no more—and the faithful, with Jesus the Faithful One, shall adjudge the faithless to the second and eternal death.

This is that Church in its original constitution and essential form, founded upon a rock, against which the gates of Hell shall not prevail,—to which *alone* the promises of God were made, and to which, in the persons of men bearing the office of

¹ John xv. 26.

² Acts v. 32.

³ Heb. ii. 3.

apostle, the words of Jesus Christ were addressed, "Lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."¹ This is the ONE, HOLY, CATHOLIC, and APOSTOLIC CHURCH; wherein God's laws should be obeyed, His will should be done, His praises celebrated, [His name glorified, His worship offered in Spirit and in Truth;² and the prayers of all saints, the supplications, intercessions, and giving of thanks for all men, should ascend as incense before the throne of God.³

It is ONE—United in every member by one life, proceeding from one source, and nourished by one and the same holy food. United under one administration, in ordinances given at the beginning, and never to be exchanged without sin against God, and loss to itself. United by one Spirit of glory in the midst of it, even as the glory in the midst of the camp of Israel, in the Sanctuary of the Tabernacle. *One* inwardly and *one* outwardly; *one* in mind, *one* in heart, *one* in spirit, *one* in word, *one* in ordinances, *one* in faith, *one* in worship, *one* in administrations;—*one* as a vine is one tree, and not another;—*one* as a temple is one, and not another;—*one* as an human body is one, and not another;—*one* as the only individual of its kind; yea *one*, as no other body in existence is one; even *one* as God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ are *one*—as it is written, "That they all may be one; as Thou, Father, art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also may be one in Us: that the world may believe that Thou hast sent Me. And the glory which Thou gavest Me I have given them; that they may be one, even as We are one;—I in them, and Thou in Me, that they may be made perfect in One; and that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them, as Thou hast loved Me."⁴

It is HOLY—as becometh the bride of Him who is the Holy One of God;—*Holy*, as the living sacrifice, Holy and accept-

¹ Matt. xxviii. 20.

² John iv. 23, 24.

³ 1 Tim. ii. 1; Rev. viii. 3, 4.

⁴ John xvii. 21—23.

able, presented continually unto God the Father by the true High Priest who is at His right hand ;—*Holy*, as the dwelling-place of the High and Holy One, who dwelleth in the Church, as it is written : “ I will dwell in them, and walk in them ; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.”¹ *Holy*, because of the Holy Ghost,—the Spirit of life from the Father and from the Lord Jesus Christ, who createth men anew in the image of God—the Spirit of Holiness, whose Temple is the Church. *Holy*, by bearing the fruits of the Holy Spirit, which are, “ love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance.”² *Holy*, by manifesting the gifts of the Holy Spirit, which are, “ the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, the gifts of healing, the working of miracles, prophecy, discerning of spirits, kinds of tongues, interpretation of tongues.”³

And not only *One* and *Holy*, but also CATHOLIC,—diffusive of its blessings, seeking to embrace all nations, and pour forth rivers of living water throughout the wilderness of this world ; teeming with life, and liberal to disperse it abroad ;—full of the Spirit of God, and longing to pour forth the same upon all men ; sending her evangelists and pastors, her prophets and apostles, into all nations to preach the Gospel to every creature, to teach the ordinances which Christ hath given, to establish righteousness and peace upon the whole earth ;—going forth to claim all men for her Lord, and make all men partakers of His salvation ;—saying to all the children of men, “ What we have seen and heard we testify unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us : and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ.”⁴

And, lastly, it is APOSTOLIC. The One, Holy, Catholic Church, the Sent of God, freighted with all the good things for

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 16. ² Gal. v. 22, 23. ³ 1 Cor. xii. 8—10. ⁴ 1 John i. 3.

the world, which are included under the names, one, holy, and catholic. *Apostolic*, in form and office ;—preserving the ordinances as they were given in the beginning, apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers ;—having apostles sent forth, “not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ, and God the Father ;”—and, by the laying on of the hands of those apostles, having all other ministers ordained and all the people filled with the Holy Ghost. *Apostolic*, in its whole being and spirit and actings ;—sent by the Son of God, as He was sent by the Father ;—coming out from God with fulness of blessings for the sons of men, and ever returning unto God to be replenished with new supplies. Coming forth from God, His apostle indeed, with His law in her heart, His wisdom in her mind, His truth upon her tongue, His power for mercy and judgment in her hands, His peace and love in all her ways—showing to all men what God is—unfolding His eternal purpose,—interpreting His deep counsels—holding up the mirror of truth to persons, families, and kingdoms—showing princes how to rule, teaching senators! wisdom—instructing parents and children, husbands and wives, masters and servants, kings and subjects, in the dignity of human nature, as ordained of God to set forth in its manifold relations the mystery of His being—shining as the light of the world, setting in order the whole frame-work of society—and, as the salt of the earth,¹ purifying the whole economy of life, and preserving it from dissolution.

One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic: not in name only, but in reality ; not in form only, but in essence ; not in its collective, apart from its individual character: but each man being the member of a Body, which is pervaded in all its parts with the same characteristics of oneness, holiness, catholicity, and apostolicity.

¹ Matt. v. 13.

Thus abiding in the counsel of God, walking with Him as children of the light, gathering to the body all who shall be saved, the Church should have been prepared as the Holy Bride, the first-fruits unto God and the Lamb, "looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the Lord Jesus Christ,"¹ when, as Enoch "was translated that he should not see death, and he was not found, because God had translated him,"² so in the Church the mystery of God shall be finished, "we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed, in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, at the last trump;"³—"The Lord Himself shall descend from Heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel, and the trump of God: then we which are alive and remain, shall be caught up to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord."⁴

We pause from the contemplation of this mighty mystery, revealed unto the holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit, and manifested in the Church to this intent, that unto the principalities and powers in Heavenly places might be known, "by the Church, the manifold wisdom of God:" and we look abroad to behold in the baptized the antitype of this vision of beauty and blessedness and glory—a glory which depends not on the gorgeousness of earthly splendour, but which consists in righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost.—We look for an united body, the saints of God, manifesting His holiness—the purity and truth which becomes His children.—We look for that ministration of the Spirit, more glorious than that of the law,⁵ through the various channels ordained in the beginning, in the completeness whereof God is revealed; for by the gifts which He hath given He dwells in His Church.—We look for an united people, as a body, bearing witness to God in the eyes of all men, that He is their Father, and they His children,—and

¹ Tit. ii. 13.² Heb. xi. 5.³ 1 Cor. xv. 51, 52.⁴ 1 Thess. iv. 16, 17.⁵ 2 Cor. iii. 8.

to whom He giveth witness before all men, by the mighty works of the Holy Ghost.—We look for these things; but where can we discover them?—The goodly order, framed by God for an end not yet accomplished, hath been maimed of its noblest parts and disfigured in its fairest proportions; instead of going on unto perfection, the body of the baptized have retrograded; they have cast aside, or carelessly let slip, the means which God had vouchsafed for their perfecting. Had they used the means aright, the end should have been attained,—“Their line should have gone through all the earth, and their words unto the end of the world.”¹ That witness should have been the means of gathering the good seed into the garner, and the chaff unto the unquenchable fire.² But the very first office in the Church, Apostleship, in men, apostles—that fan in the hand of the Lord whereby He purges His floor, that ordinance whereby He baptizes with the Holy Ghost and with fire—hath departed (whatever partial apostolical ministry may have survived), although the end of the gift of apostles remains yet unattained:—the voice of the Lord in Prophecy through men given to that end, having been despised or dreaded, hath long ceased to be uttered, and the people of God have been left to the silence of death; the Spirit, being quenched, hath refrained to manifest Himself as in the days of old; the Comforter hath ceased to remind concerning Jesus, those who in heart imagined that they had need of nothing; and the powers of the world to come, the healing of the sick, the casting out of devils, and every other demonstration that Jesus is Lord, and that the kingdom is at hand, have all but disappeared, for men have sought to make this world their rest, and no longer desired the kingdom of Heaven. Oh for the awakening of the baptized from the long lethargy in which they have been buried! for a ceasing from the petty controversies and divisions, the heart-burnings and

¹ Psalm xix. 4.² Matt. iii. 12.

oppositions, the Eastern Church against the Western, the Roman Catholics against the Protestants, wherewith Satan hath distracted their attention—that they may look around and survey the fearful ruins of many generations ! What section of the baptized beareth in its outward lineaments, or in its inward spirit, the character of the One, Holy, Catholic, Apostolic Church ? Who can look at the glories of the beginning, and measure themselves thereby, without shrinking from the comparison ? But, though man may deceive himself, God is not mocked. In vain He searcheth the face of Christendom for the *marks* of the Christian Church. The Churches, called by divers names, furnish them not. Unity, the foundation of all the rest, is utterly destroyed. Without this the others cannot be possessed. The holiness described in Scripture is that of a body united and visible, complete in all its parts, each part in its own measure manifesting holiness, and all in the measure of every part growing up in holiness. Again, without unity and holiness, catholicity cannot exist ;—an united Church, an holy people, can alone preach the Gospel to every creature, or teach all nations to observe all things which the Lord hath commanded,—can alone cause all men to believe and know, that God sent His Son to be the Saviour of the world. And lastly, the One, Holy, Catholic Church, can alone be Apostolic ; for it is in such a body alone that God hath set, “first Apostles ;” and such alone can send forth apostles, or other ministers by apostles ordained, to bear that witness and to communicate that life, for which the Church was constituted. The Christian body, as it is, can send forth only the missionaries of a sect, or of many sects, to the nations of the heathen. It cannot furnish apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, to minister from the body the one Faith and the one Spirit. Tried by the line of judgment and the plummet of righteousness, it cannot be justified. As truly as the angels left their first estate, as certainly as the nations before the flood apostatized and quenched the light

given unto them from God through Adam, as surely as the Jews who crucified the Lord rejected the counsel of God against themselves, so truly the baptized have fallen from the glorious standing wherein God placed the Church at the beginning.¹

When at the first the Church was manifested in the visible Glory of the Holy Ghost, the Lord gave commission unto His Apostles, who witnessed His ascension, and who were all of the seed of Abraham, and Apostles to the circumcision, to preach the Gospel to the Jews first: as spake St. Peter on the day of Pentecost, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Gift of the Holy Ghost: for the promise is unto *you*, and to *your* children;"² and shortly after in the Temple—"Unto *you* first God, having raised up His Son Jesus, sent Him to bless you."³ The Jews indeed would not receive this grace, and the ordinance of Apostle was for them given in vain: yet that twofold testimony of God, given in His Church in Jerusalem, was the means whereby His remnant at that time according to the election of grace was gathered out, Jerusalem judged, and the Jews scattered until this day;—"It was necessary," said St. Paul and St. Barnabas to the Jews, "that the word of God should *first* have been spoken to *you*: but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo, we turn unto the Gentiles."⁴ To the Gentiles then God turned, visiting them to take out a people for His name.⁵ God wrought, and He still worketh, to obtain a people who shall receive His blessing in all its fulness, and in whom His name shall be revealed in all its completeness;—whom He should first perfect and then at their translation glorify;—and this work was to be wrought by Apostles instrumentally;—yea, for this very end was Paul raised up—for this was he separated from his

¹ Jude; 2 Pet. ii.

⁴ Acts xiii. 46.

² Acts ii. 38, 39.

⁵ Acts xv. 14.

³ Acts iii. 26.

mother's womb¹—for this ordained a Preacher and an Apostle, a Teacher of the Gentiles in faith and verity;²—even as in another place he speaks of “the grace that was given to him of God, that he should be the minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God, that the offering up of the Gentiles might be acceptable, being sanctified by the Holy Ghost.”³ And so it was that, when they at Jerusalem “saw that the Gospel of the uncircumcision was committed unto Paul, as the Gospel of the Circumcision was unto Peter; (for He that wrought effectually in Peter to the apostleship of the Circumcision, the same was mighty in Paul toward the Gentiles;) and when James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto him, they gave to him and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship; that they should go unto the Heathen, as they themselves unto the Circumcision.”⁴ They went: but even while St. Paul continued to labour among the Churches, he was compelled to complain that they had fallen from their first love into coldness, and from their grace and liberty into bondage.⁵ The Corinthian Church, filled with Spiritual Gifts, the earnest of the Kingdom,⁶ and the preparation for the coming of the Lord (so that, as he saith, “ye come behind in no gift, waiting for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ”⁷), is at the same time described, in his Epistles to them, as polluted with scandalous sin,—idolatry of men, and partisanship, envying and strife, disorder and rebellion. And very speedily, after but a few years of active ministry, he was delivered up bound unto the Romans; and then we find him complaining of those even at Rome, “Who preached Christ of contention, supposing to add affliction to his bonds.”⁸ And as the last scene of martyrdom approached, and the hour of his departure was at hand, in the midst of prophecies and forebodings

¹ Gal. i. 15, 16.² 1 Tim. ii. 7; 2 Tim. i. 11.³ Rom. xv. 16.⁴ Gal. ii. 7—9, 1⁵ Gal. iii.—v.⁶ Ephes. i. 14.⁷ 1 Cor. i. 7.⁸ Phil. i. 16.

concerning the evil days which were coming on the Church,¹ we find that "all they in Asia had turned away;"² "Demas had forsaken him;" "Alexander did him much mischief;" "at his first answer no man stood with him, but all men forsook him."³ While the memory of the Apostles had been loaded by posterity with honours all but divine, they were yet in their life-time many times despised and set at nought, both by Churches and by individuals;⁴ and God suffered the will of man to prevail, and withdrew (but only for a time) the authority which was resisted, and the holy rule and discipline which the unholy could not endure.

Thus does Scripture indicate the existence of sins, naturally leading to the withdrawal of the Apostolic function, as exercised in men set apart for that purpose: but the fact, that the gift of Apostleship hath been suspended in its actual manifestation in men, Apostles, God's ordinance for its manifestation, while God's gifts are without repentance, and the purpose remains unaccomplished for which that gift was given, is of itself the overwhelming evidence of Apostasy. The suggestion of modes, wherein God hath or might have provided for the continuance in the Church of unity of rule, doctrine, or administration, in the Church, is beside the purpose: these substituted means can never fulfil the work, to which the original instrument ordained in the wisdom of God was adapted. It is as little to the purpose to endeavour to prove, that, by the appointment of the Lord Jesus Christ, one of the Twelve was invested with a primacy over the Church, which he bequeathed to his successors in the Bishopric of Rome: unless indeed it were contended, that that primacy imported an office wherein the Bishop of Rome, to the exclusion of the Apostles, should exercise supreme

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 3. ² 2 Tim. i. 15. ³ 2 Tim. iv. 10, 14, 16.

⁴ Rom. xvi. 17; 1 Cor. iv. 18; 2 Cor. xiii. 3; Phil. i. 15, 16; iii. 17, 18; 2 Thess. iii. 2, 6, 14; 3 John 9, 10.

authority; but this would be expressly contrary to Holy Scripture, which declares that God hath set in the Church, "First Apostles;" and would involve the further consequence, that, after the death of St. Peter, the other surviving Apostles, including St. John the beloved of the Lord, were not first in the Church, but that Linus, and Cletus, and Clemens, still contemporary with St. John, were first, and Apostles second. Besides, it is impossible that the See of Rome should be augmented with a supremacy enjoyed by St. Peter, not as a Bishop, but as an Apostle. It is true indeed that, in the history of the Church, a jurisdiction of a *like nature*, though of a greater extent, attaching to a person, may in very early periods have survived to the See in which he was Bishop. But that an higher jurisdiction, and higher functions, as we have shown the Apostolical jurisdiction and functions to be, should in like manner attach, is as contrary to the law and practice of the Church, as that a Bishop, who may happen to hold an inferior benefice, bequeaths episcopal functions to the Clerk who succeeds him in that benefice. We have shown that God's ordinance for unity of spirit, of faith, and of rule, is the Apostle; that the law of the universal Church can flow only from those, who under Christ have a permanent jurisdiction and episcopate over the whole Church throughout the world; and that to Apostles alone hath that authority been committed—nor by any other, Patriarchs, Bishops, or Presbyters, whose power of action is practically confined to their own Province, Diocese, or Parochial District, can universal control be exercised, or catholic reformation be introduced. And therefore the duty of all Bishops, from the beginning unto this day, yea and of all who long for the peace and welfare of Jerusalem, should have been to cry unto God, day and night, in the first instance to preserve, subsequently to restore, the ministry of Apostles to the Church.

It is true that when and as, in consequence of that unbelief

and indifference which hindered the cry from ascending to God for the continuation of His gifts, the apostles ceased from the Church, the Bishops, by a necessary devolution and preference, succeeded to the chief place of authority ; but it is equally true that, *in that act, and by that necessity*, God's way of unity in His Church was violated ; and the whole experience of the Church since that period, down to the present times, when a new and more monstrous form of wickedness has come in, has been but a perpetual struggle for an unity to be brought about by *unlawful means*—by appeals to the strong arm of power (the first instance whereof was to a Pagan Emperor, Aurelian, and so early as the middle of the third century), or by the usurpation of one bishop over his brethren. Such was the sin, and such has been the punishment of the baptized as a body : the sin—that they were content, and their rulers interestedly content, in the cessation of the Apostleship : the punishment—the cruel tearings and rendings of the body of Christ ; the schisms, and distinctions, and divergencies in faith and discipline ; the tyranny of the power of the State, or the usurpation of an universal Bishop. And yet it is never to be questioned, that God, the merciful and gracious One, has always from age to age used and honoured in His Church, the best He could find in it, and so His saints and true children have never been altogether destitute, nor hath He ever failed to be faithful to whatever of His name and ordinances still survived under the load of human inventions.

It is not wonderful that from this sin innumerable evils should follow. And decline and degeneracy must inevitably proceed, until authority and office shall be extinct, and all shall be resolved into a mass of confusion, from whence Antichrist shall select *his* materials, and erect, in mockery of the Church of God, *his* fabric of lies. When the baptized, and their rulers, have universally consented to regard the continuance of apos-

tles (who are the very wells and fountains of doctrine) to be unessential, no wonder that heresies innumerable should have crept in. If bishops take upon themselves to govern the Church without apostles, presbyters will lightly esteem bishops, to be themselves in turn regarded as unnecessary. And finally, the mass of the religious will hasten to fulfil the prophecies of the last times spoken by St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. Jude,¹ "Heaping to themselves teachers, having itching ears;" "Despising dominion;" "Presumptuous;" "Speaking evil of dignities;" "Perishing in the gainsaying of Core;" "Feeding (shepherding, ποιμαίνοντες) themselves without fear;" "Having men's persons in admiration because of advantage;" "Separating themselves, sensual, having not the Spirit." Verily, except Jesus, the Head of the Church, had contained in Himself all the fulness ready to be put forth through men, whenever the faith of the body would again receive the blessing, and had it not been that the time was ever in the heart of God, when it should again flow through the channels constituted in the beginning, long since would the Church have been swallowed up in the consequences of the wickedness of the baptized; and the promise of the Lord, that the gates of hell should not prevail against her, had proved utterly void.

Without apostles, it is not difficult to understand that prophets should have ceased; for the laying on of apostles' hands is God's ordinary way of bestowing the Holy Ghost, whether in gifts, in administrations, or in operations. Apostles are His gift, direct and immediate; but prophets and other ministries *ordinarily* are His gifts, mediate and through apostles: and though the voice of prophecy may have been heard in the Church, the Lord from time to time speaking *extraordinarily* by whom He will, and though we may not limit what God would do through those ordinances which yet remained, yet it was to

¹ 2 Tim. iv. 3; 2 Peter ii. 10; Jude 8. 11, 12. 16. 19.

be expected that prophets, as a standing ministry in the house of God, should cease when apostles had ceased.

The word of God through a prophet, a minister ordained of God to that end, is a declaration of His mind to the universal Church; and yet through apostles alone could it be conveyed as an authoritative tradition and injunction, as St. Peter says, "Be mindful of the *words* which were spoken before of the holy prophets, and of the *commandment* of us the apostles of the Lord and Saviour." And those who had now succeeded to the chief rule in the Church, held, in the Church universal, a ministry subordinate to that of prophet: for says the Scripture,¹ "First apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that helps, governments, etc.;" and, in the parallel passage in the Epistle to the Ephesians,² apostles are the first enumerated, then prophets, then those who, whether to those without or to those within, fulfil the duty of teacher—evangelists, and pastors and teachers. And thus the prophet's word (claiming an authority which found its *true* exercise while the Church was under the rule of apostles, from whom alone, as we have said, the traditions of authority could proceed), would now be found to clash with the unsupported authority of the bishop. And, without indulging imagination where Ecclesiastical History is silent, we yet know that God works by, and not in direct contravention of, the natural course of cause and effect; and nothing but a continual miracle, against the natural course of things, could have perpetuated the office of prophet as it belongs to the Christian Church, after apostles had ceased to exist. We here speak of prophets not as under the law, but as in the body of Christ.

Again we insist that the Church is not an institution of man for men's purposes, but of God for His purposes. If it do not

¹ 1 Cor. xii. 28.

² Ephes. iv. 11.

accomplish these, it must become like salt which has lost its savour. Nor can God's purposes be accomplished by any means but those which He has chosen—means plainly set down in Scripture, not as indifferent, or to be superseded, or changed for others, or capable of substitution by any invention of men, or to be disregarded with impunity, or to be lost without a grievous mutilation of the body of Christ and a stopping and hindering of God's blessing; they are necessary, they are sufficient, they are terminable by nothing short of the accomplishment of the purposes for which they are given. There is no word in Scripture declaring an intention on God's part to do away with any one of them; and it is a daring defiance of God, and contempt of His wisdom and ways, to suppose, and act on the presumption, that any one of them can be dispensed with: but to set aside the two principal of these offices, the very foundation of the spiritual building, is a sin, the parallel whereof in any human polity would exceed all belief.

Instead of extenuating, it enhances the guilt of the baptized, that they should glory in their shame, and should measure the purposes of God by their own wickedness which lost—and their unbelief which perpetuates the loss;—that, on the one hand, disregarding or denying their sin, the sins of many generations, they should adopt a spiritual optimism, and contend that everything is as God would have it, *because* it is as it is;—or that, on the other hand, instead of returning to the Lord with weeping for having so despised the pleasant land, they should studiously renounce, as belonging to a past and almost fabulous dispensation, every token by which the Church might be known to be the dwelling-place of the Living and True God.

Is it then that the universal Church needed not to be bound together by the hands of apostles,—that it was sufficient to commit the Church to bishops, to insure its unity? It was not

God's way of unity ; and therefore, no marvel that in our further progress we should find that unity could not thus be maintained. To assert that the unity of the Church consists in its being under any one *bishop* other than the Lord Jesus Christ, is one form of error, and its fruit is bondage to man—a hiding and eclipsing of God—a setting aside of the head from the body, making the body sufficient to itself. To assert that it stands in an Invisible Head, Jesus in the Heavens, to the exclusion of any visible unity on earth, is another form of error, and its fruit is perpetual and illimitable schism in the body of Christ. To assert the independence of each national Church, tends indeed to correct the last error to a certain extent in the parts, but leaves the evil unremedied in the whole, and is but independency on the large scale : and it would necessarily be proved to be such, whenever again an universal monarchy shall be established—and none can say how soon that may be.

But this is not a question of Church government alone ; we have already shown the connection between the ministers of the Church and the ordinances for spiritual life. It is true these have been still administered, not indeed by men ordained by apostles, and on whom the word of prophecy had gone before, but by men ordained by those who had succeeded to apostles ; in whom did vest, and by whom was dispensed, a blessing of grace indeed, but a blessing curtailed in a measure proportioned to the curtailment of the office, and to the contraction of the Church in its principal members, and consequently in the whole economy of its existence. We may not deny that a measure of the Holy Ghost has been given by the laying on of bishops' hands ; or that grace has been bestowed in the Sacraments, administered by those whom they ordain ; for that would be contrary to the verity of the continued existence of the Church, as the Body of Christ, and would imply that the Church had failed altogether :—but it would be equally con-

trary to God's truth, and the verity of the Church, to assert, that a bishop is God's ordinance for bestowing the Holy Ghost, according to His own perfect way revealed in His word ; or that it is a matter of indifference whether the medium be a bishop or an apostle. For as we have said in respect of the pastoral, so we say of this function. An apostle is given of God, to rule over the universal Church, to confer the Holy Ghost by imposition of hands, and to minister the Spirit in all His fulness to bishops and all others. A bishop is a *bishop* and not an apostle ; with his own ministry to fulfil however, and with a limited grace to confer, in the confines of a limited jurisdiction.

It is true that, although apostles and prophets had ceased, the Church was still, and hath ever been, complete in her Head in the Heavens. He was still the Apostle and Prophet to His people, and the Church was still *the Body*, capable of receiving the ministrations of those offices in men, and of containing those manifested members (although not, as it ought ever to have been, visibly complete in those memberships on the earth). And therefore it hath ever been possible that, as His wisdom might determine, those ministries should again be put forth in men, apostles and prophets. He could provide, and He hath provided, that His Church should never fail. But there hath been no change of plan, no secondary instrumentality for effecting His purpose, the first having failed, and being set aside as useless. The first indeed hath hitherto failed through the sin of His people, and He hath used what instruments He could, until He might again bring forth His first ordained means, among a people who should have faith to receive them. But they have not been withdrawn, nor has their office been supplied, without miserable loss. The full instrumentality, by which the Holy Ghost ministereth grace to the baptized, is not in operation, and therefore the full grace is not ministered : the gifts, by means whereof the Lord God might

dwell among men, have not been retained ; and the abiding presence of God hath been exchanged for a condition, wherein the glory of the God of Israel hath seemed to be obscured—hath, as it were, removed from off the holy resting-place, and hath been fain to linger on the threshold.¹ The ordinance expressly provided of God for conveying life unto the Church, and the principal ordinances for circulating it from member to member, have been stayed ; and the stream of life hath flowed scantily, and circulated feebly : the growth of the Church hath been hindered, all things have retrograded, and God's purpose in the Church hath rested in abeyance.

The Sacraments, therefore, being now administered by men who received their commission through inferior means, and unto a people who, as a body, could not be receiving the full ministry of the Holy Ghost,—seeing that the ordained channel for that end was lacking,—having ceased to be the living realities they were intended to be ;—the faith, which in its wane² could not retain the principal ministries of the Church, was insufficient to apprehend the full blessing in the sacraments. The disputes and controversies concerning sacraments are the standing evidence of apostasy and unholiness. If the baptized had continued in the enjoyment of the inward grace, there could have been no room for disputation as to the outward means. If the life of Jesus were manifested in their mortal bodies, and the mighty powers of the world to come exercised,—if the Church were revealed as the true abode of the Lord Jesus Christ, by the Holy Ghost,³ and His real presence demonstrated by the changing of the faithful into His image from glory to glory,⁴—there should be no dispute whether initiatory ordinances were merely outward marks of Christian profession and an admission to outward privileges, or whether they impressed a spiritual and

¹ Ezekiel x. 4.

² Rev. ii. 4.

³ Matt. xxviii. 20 ; John xiv. 23.

⁴ 2 Cor. iii. 18.

indelible character on the souls of the recipients ; whether grace be conferred in sacraments, or merely faith be assured. But when faith ceases to realize, and to educe in the life and conduct, that the baptized are dead with Christ, and through faith freed from sin—"Dead unto sin, but alive unto God, through Jesus Christ our Lord,"—they cease to bear Witness to God that He is faithful to His ordinances, and their unholiness is the practical denial, that baptism is anything else than a mere passport for admission to the outward privileges of the Church. And when the glorious mystery of the true Sacramental presence of the Lord Jesus Christ, in the Holy Communion, and of the true partaking of His most holy Flesh and Blood, has lost its spiritual and genuine demonstration, in a people *consciously* and *manifestly* dwelling in the Lord, and He also dwelling in them, through the Holy Ghost—they, conscious of their loss, have sought, by means which must infallibly lead to deeper evils—by pageantry presented to the eye, or by ingenious arguments addressed to the understanding—to set forth a truth, which can only be apprehended in the Spirit. Scholastic subtilty has been tasked to invent sophistries, which, by denying the evidence of all the senses of a man, lead to universal scepticism ; and the communion of the faithful has been made to give way to a pompous ceremonial, transacted for the most part by the priest alone. Instead of being eaten at the time, the sacramental Elements are elevated and borne about for adoration ; and, to put it in the most favourable point of view, God is worshipped under the likeness of a creature thing, and the company of the baptized bow down thereto. And while there is the semblance of worship herein, and of a more than ordinary pretension to pay homage unto Jesus Christ, His institution is disregarded, and the Cup, whereof He said, "Drink ye all of this," is, in open defiance of His word, withdrawn from the laity.

True it is that multitudes of the race of man have been regenerated unto God, through the long ages which have intervened. The long-suffering of God hath been salvation, while He hath seemed to be thus slack in performing His promise.¹ Many have been the saints of God, the Confessors and Martyrs, the Fathers and Doctors of the Church, who glorified God, and were made blessings to His children: their labours have not failed, for "their works do follow them." But these were the few among the many: the holy *Body* which existed at the beginning, the mass of those who believe, have not gone on to perfection. God hath been confessed in this man and in the other, but in His Church His visible glory hath been obscured. And thus, the conscious imperfection of the whole Body led to the undue exaltation either of living, or of departed saints.

From the same fatal source—the apostasy, and then the unholiness, of the Church—have proceeded the other errors, in doctrine and in life, which grew up and attained their strength in the middle ages. The undue veneration paid to relics could never have obtained among a people, who knew themselves to be the living members of Christ:—nor would those who knew that they had "come unto Mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in Heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, and to Jesus the Mediator of the new Covenant,"²—who consciously stood in this dignity, and knew themselves "*now* to be the sons of God," have sought for the mediation of the dead, themselves the living: neither would the doctrine of purgatory have obtained among those, who knew that even *now* they were risen with Christ, through faith of the operation of God,³ and the "eyes of whose understandings had been enlightened; that

¹ 2 Peter iii. 9. 15.² Heb. xii. 22. 24.³ Col. ii. 12.

they might know what is the exceeding greatness of His power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of His mighty power, which He wrought in Christ, when He raised Him from the dead.”¹ And in like manner vows of celibacy, and forbidding the whole class of those in holy orders to marry, are but a demonstration that to the baptized, being impure, all things had become impure,—and an effort to escape from that conscious impurity (an unnatural effort which cannot be blessed), which places holiness not in the use of lawful and natural things but in the abstinence from them, which casts blame on God and His works and ways, and dishonour on His own holy ordinance, whereof Scripture saith, “Marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled.”²

As the life of God decayed in the body of the baptized, purity of doctrine became more than ever of importance. While the apostles lived, their sentence was the standard of doctrine ; and though even at that time heretics arose, yet were they speedily separated, and their opinions condemned, by the authority of the Church expressed through apostles. The doctrine delivered by apostles was the doctrine of the Church : but when *they* had departed, no single bishop could express the judgment of the Church against any novel doctrines introduced by heretics, save as that judgment derived its source, or obtained its sanction, from the Church universal. Many a time in the history of the Church, bishops have introduced the heresy ; and although every bishop is a bishop of the one Church universal, yet the exercise of his office is limited to his own diocese, and all his brethren are his co-ordinates and equals in the Church universal, while each in his own diocese is the ruler in the one doctrine and order of the Church to the exclusion of any other. To convene the bishops in provincial synods is also insufficient ; the bishops of whole provinces have

¹ Ephes. i. 18—20.

² Heb. xiii. 4.

been found involved in heresy. The only medium, whereby the Universal Church since the times of the apostles could hope to pronounce judgment on disputed points, was a General Council: but the inadequacy of this, the last resource remaining to her, more strongly than anything else, might have instructed the Church in some apprehension of her loss. In the reigns of infidel Emperors it has been found in ages past impracticable, in the nature of things, to gather all or a majority of Christian bishops: and afterwards, when Councils were assembled under the protection of rulers converted to Christianity, the fixing of the place of meeting has many times settled the question in dispute; the judgment of the major part of the Church, the doctrine of the orthodox and catholic, has been overruled by the acts of a minority, artfully selected and surreptitiously assembled; and thus, on one occasion, as St. Jerome expresses it, "The whole world groaned, and wondered to find itself Arian."¹

How little the rule of bishops, or the superintendence of patriarchs, tended to unity, was exemplified in the condition of the Church, when the Roman Emperor Constantine became a convert to Christianity. Africa in the hands of the Donatists, —a large number of Bishops and their churches in Egypt, and whole districts in Asia, professing the doctrines of Arius,—these judgments from God vindicated the wisdom of His own ordained way of unity—apostles ruling His universal Church, in respect of faith and order. And the low estate of morals, which, immediately on the conversion of the ruler in the state, rushed in and supplanted the ancient purity, and which hath ever since continued to disgrace the name of Christianity, equally manifested the decay of spiritual life. Faith and morals thus affected, and the true source of reformation and revival wanting, the

¹*Ingenuit totus orbis, et Arianum se esse miratus est.*—Hieron. *Adv. Luciferianos.*

bishops of the Church should have been induced to consider from whence they had fallen, and to return unto God with weeping and supplication, that He would restore unto them the ancient ordinances: instead whereof, with that reckless confidence in themselves, and that determination that all things must needs be as they were, wherein the rulers of the Church (as it would seem in judicial blindness) have ever since persisted, they went forward into a further act of spiritual wickedness, fearful in its spiritual aspect (though surely they thought not so, but, with a zeal for God and for His truth not according to knowledge, supposed that they were doing Him service), and by invoking the interference of a Christian Emperor they admitted the exercise of civil authority within the precincts of the Church, and paved the way to that union of spiritual and temporal rule in the same hands, which is the forestalling of the Resurrection glory, and the anticipation of the heavenly kingdom, before the Father causes it to come.

But we have now come to the period when not merely individual men, but national bodies, acknowledged the authority of the Church; and we must therefore point out more clearly the true relations of Sovereign Princes and their governments on the one hand, and those of the Church on the other.

WHEN God's peculiar people had provoked Him to depart from them; to despise in the indignation of His anger the King and the Priest;¹ to make void the covenant of David; to profane his crown by casting it to the ground;² to make Zion a wilderness, Jerusalem a desolation; to lay waste their holy and beautiful house, where their fathers had praised Him;³ to render Israel outcast, and to give Judah to dispersion;⁴ He called forth his servant Nebuchadnezzar, and gave all nations to serve Him,

¹ Lam. ii. 6.

² Psalm lxxxix. 38, 39.

³ Isaiah lxiv. 10, 11.

⁴ Isaiah xi. 12.

and commanded Zedekiah King of Judah, and all of the seed of Abraham who yet remained in the land of their inheritance, to bring their necks under the yoke of the King of Babylon, and to serve him and his people—making submission to that King the test of obedience to Himself.¹ And unto this Nebuchadnezzar² God revealed Himself in a vision of the night; and when it had passed from him, and none of the magicians nor wise men of his kingdom were able to make it known, God revealed the same and its interpretation to Daniel of the seed of the captivity. And this was the substance of the dream, and of the interpretation thereof. Under the figure of an image, the head whereof was of gold, his breast and arms of silver, his belly and thighs of brass, his legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay, were set forth four successive eras of universal government over the sons of men, and the last thereof in two successive stages, of strength, and of division and weakness. And the dream was thus applied: that Nebuchadnezzar was a king of kings, for the God of Heaven had given him a kingdom, and had made him ruler over all; and that after him should arise three other kingdoms, the last whereof should at first be strong as iron, and afterwards should be divided—"And as the toes of the feet were part of iron and part of clay, so it should be partly strong and partly broken. And in the days of these kings," (set forth in the symbol of the vision by the toes of the image, separated in outward form and mingled and divided in their composition,) "shall the God of Heaven set up a kingdom which shall never be destroyed. And the kingdom shall not be left to other people, but it shall break in pieces and consume all these kingdoms, and it shall stand for ever."

The world being thus subjected in the providence of God to an universal dominion under the fourth of the predicted kingdoms, the Roman Empire, not in its last stage of division and weakness, but yet in all its vigour, Jesus was born of the seed

¹ Jeremiah xxvii. ; xxxviii. 20, 21.

² Dan. ii.

of David according to the flesh ; and of Him it was declared by the Angel to the blessed Virgin His mother, before He was conceived, "The Lord God shall give unto Him the throne of His father David, and He shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever, and of His kingdom there shall be no end."¹ But in the example of His own most holy life Jesus enjoined tribute, and paid it for Himself to the Roman Emperor, concerning whom and the tribute due to him, He spake these words : "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things that are God's ;"² and accordingly He disclaimed authority in the affairs of this world, saying, "Who made me a judge or a divider over you ?"³ and when they would have taken Him by force and made Him a King, He departed and avoided them.⁴ And in like manner, when brought before the Roman governor, He acknowledged his authority, declaring, "My kingdom is not of this world : if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." And, when Pilate had said unto Him, "Speakest thou not unto me ? knowest thou not that I have power to crucify thee, and I have power to release thee ?" the Lord answered, "Thou couldest have no power at all against me, except it were given thee from above : therefore he that delivered me unto thee hath the greater sin."⁵ And the truth, which He thus conveyed by instruction and sealed by His example, was again confirmed in the mouths of His apostles ; for saith St. Paul, "There is no power but of God ; the powers that be are ordained of God :—for this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers."⁶ And again, St. Peter saith, "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake : whether it be to the King, as supreme ; or unto governors, as unto them that are sent by him for the punishment of evil-doers, and for the praise of them that do well." And again, "Fear God, honour the King."⁷

¹ Luke i. 30—33.² Mark xii. 17.³ Luke xiii. 14.⁴ John vi. 15.⁵ John xviii. 36 ; xix. 11.⁶ Rom. xiii. 1, 2—6.⁷ 1 Peter ii. 13, 14—17.

The kingdom, therefore, which "the God of Heaven shall set up," is not yet advanced into the administration of the affairs of this world: and while the baptized Church hath now the first-fruits of that kingdom in the gift of the Holy Ghost, the powers of the world to come, and is now, as St. Peter saith, "A royal priesthood, an holy nation;"¹ and while, as St. John saith in the Revelation, "Jesus Christ, who is the Prince of the kings of the earth, *hath* made us kings and priests unto God, and His Father;"² yet we must needs be subject for conscience sake unto the powers that be. The kingdom of God is yet within us;³ it hath not yet come; we yet pray unto our Father, that it may come; it shall come "in the regeneration, when the Son of Man shall sit on the throne of His glory;" and then shall the twelve apostles, who were with Him on earth, "sit upon twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel."⁴ And then also shall come to pass the vision of St. John in the Apocalypse: "I saw thrones, and they sat upon them, and judgment was given unto them." "This is the first resurrection: Blessed and holy is he that hath part in the first resurrection: on such the second death hath no power, but they shall be Priests of God and of Christ, and shall reign with Him a thousand years!"⁵ We are yet in the natural body, we have not yet received the spiritual: we shall receive it at His appearing and His kingdom; "For our citizenship is in heaven: from whence also we look for the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body."⁶ And in the mean time we must be content to be as our Master when He was on earth, and to follow His example. He was born a king, yet He submitted Himself and paid tribute: and we, as baptized, are born kings, yea, and the Church is the kingdom; and in the Church the rule of the kingdom is exercised, and the ministers of the Church are officers of the kingdom, and

¹ 1 Peter ii. 9.⁴ Matt. xix. 28.² Rev. i. 5, 6.⁵ Rev. xx. 4—6.³ Luke xvii. 21.⁶ Phil. iii. 21.

the names thereof are names of eternity ; but the Church is the kingdom "in the Holy Ghost,"⁷ it is the kingdom in the mystery ; the resurrection is not passed already, nor are the kingdoms of this world yet subverted, but loyalty and allegiance are due to the powers that be, in the matters of this world. And therefore it is that in the Church the king, when he approacheth to the font of baptism, is baptized as other men ; when he approacheth to the altar of God, he receiveth the Holy Communion at the hands of God's Priests as other men, not as a king ; when he kneeleth in the House of God, in the congregation of the people, he receiveth the blessing as other men. But in the State, the baptized, ministers and people, must obey ; it maketh no difference whether the king be baptized or unbaptized ; submission is due to the king in this world as the ordinance of God for earthly rule ; although the kingdom of this world is not the kingdom of Heaven, and whatever higher reward the faithful king shall receive hereafter, it shall be in respect of his greater responsibility as a man, and his fulfilment of his duty as a Christian, not as a minister of the Church. Nevertheless, to suppose that the throne is not the symbol, and in a Christian land more than the symbol, the sure pledge, of the Eternal Lordship of Jesus Christ, even as the altar of His priesthood is the symbol of His Eternal Priesthood,—or that in a community of baptized men, and acknowledging as a community the faith of Christ's Church, kingly rule and priestly authority have not correlative and reciprocal duties, is to do nothing less than to divide the Kingship, from the Priesthood, of Christ. Domestic and civil relations are in their origin as much ordained of God, and as much channels of blessing, as ecclesiastical relations. The king and the father are as necessary as the apostle and the pastor. And in a Christian land baptism sealeth them sacred, and God halloweth them by His priesthood in their very source. In the Church of the Living

¹ Rom. xiv. 17.

God are received and allowed the vows of man and woman affianced to one another ; and by the act of God's priesthood are these vows accepted, and the union of two spirits effected. To the Church of God comes the Christian ruler ; *there* are his vows of faithful charge of his people, and fulfilment of all kingly duties, registered ; and from the hands of God's priest he receives the anointing by which he is enabled to fulfil his duties, and so he reigneth by the Grace of God. But to the Church of God, to the sphere of the spiritual relations established in baptism or flowing therefrom, is the authority of the priest confined ; and in the rule of the private family he may not interfere, much less, of the family of the kingdom. And so also in the Church, the highest monarch is but the receiver of the Grace of God : administration of rule, dispensation of ministry therein, belong not to him, and if exercised, are usurpation.

The civil and ecclesiastical rulers have, therefore, each their proper functions.—The office of the priesthood is to teach both kings and people their several duties, and to be channels for imparting to all and each the grace and blessing, without which they are unfurnished for discharging the same. Those are no sound politics which are not Christian politics ; and the priesthood are the ordained teachers of principles, for the guidance of both rulers and ruled. But their duty is strictly a spiritual duty. Their words are addressed to the faith and conscience ; their authority is spiritual : and as citizens they must obey. The duty of kings and rulers is to govern their people by the statutes and ordinances of God, which, in faith of Him, not of man, they receive from the lips of the priests ;—as chief among the sons, to be the most obedient to the Church, from whose womb all the baptized are born unto God, and from whose breasts they are nourished ; and to guard and shield her from every danger with filial care. Over the persons of all in their

dominions they are to rule in righteousness ; but dominion or jurisdiction in faith — authority internal or external in the Church—belongs not to them, and is an usurpation of the office of Christ, the true Melchisedec, who alone is both King of kings, and Priest of the most High God.

The anointing and coronation of a Christian king by the hands of God's priest is a godly order. It imports not that the priest hath jurisdiction temporal over the ruler : it imports that none can fulfil their duties, save by God's blessing ; nor can that blessing be received except in His Church, and through His ordinance there for blessing : and like all other solemn acts in God's Church, it is no mockery, but an effectual means, whereby He gives grace to the ruler, and constitutes the ruler and governed one covenant people in the Holy Ghost. But at least it excludes the notion, that to the ruler belongs spiritual jurisdiction over the Church, from whose ministers, as the hand of the Lord, he receives his crown, and the blessing which he needs. It seals and sanctifies all the original responsibilities of both king and people to God, and to each other :—the duty of the king to rule not for himself but for the good of his people, to shield the weak, to avenge the oppressed, to care for the distressed, to exercise his authority for the protection of all, and above all, ever to bear in mind, that all power cometh from God :—the duty of every man as a member of the body politic to stand in his place, ruling or obeying as God may have set him, and to account himself the steward for the Lord of all committed to his care—kings and rulers, and their council legislative or deliberative, to rule, to counsel, and to frame and execute laws, in the fear of God, and for the good of the commonwealth ; judges and magistrates to execute justice and equity ; nobles and gentlemen to hold themselves accountable to Him for the use they make of their rank, honour, and property ; merchants and manufacturers, and others of

whatever profession, husbands and heads of families, to provide things honest in the sight of all men ; and again, wives and children, servants, and all subjects, to reverence and obey their superiors, recognizing the authority of God in His names of King, and Lord, and Judge, and Father, and Master. But the solemn act of the renewing of the kingdom in the hand of the King, by his coronation in the Church, conveys with it higher and more specific duties, and involves deeper responsibilities. It involves a covenant on the part of king and people, that they will protect and defend God's true Catholic Church ; on the part of the King, that he will give free course to the ministry of God's word, afford facilities for the instruction of all under his authority, and uphold, by his example and influence, God's authority in the Church ; and on the part of both king and people, that they will receive the truths of God, declared unto them through the Church, and that they will, as a nation, walk thereby. It involves an acknowledgment, that the Father hath committed all power into the hands of the Son, and that the ruler is His vicegerent until He comes. But above all, it brings both king and people into the condition of receiving the Holy Ghost, for the fulfilment of the law of Christ in government and in obedience. It insures the presence and protection of God himself in all their ways, and the abundance of every national blessing : but, it also insures the destruction of every moral tie which holds man together, the removal of every restraint upon his passions, the corruption and dissolution of the whole state of society, if this covenant be broken, and this standing be lost by apostatizing therefrom.

Such should have been the relative standing of the Church and of the State, when the head of the latter was converted, and Christianity became the established religion. If the baptized had then been found in the true standing of the Church, possessing all the ordinances for unity of doctrine and of rule,

the Church should have stood, the teacher of king and people, whether they would hear, or whether they would forbear; the instructor of all men in all respective duties of life; and the channel of grace to all for their fulfilment. Between the ministers of the Church, filled with the Holy Ghost, and the believing rulers of a believing people, the question of the connection between Church and State would never have been treated as a question of expediency, either by one party or by the other: it would have been resolved into the simple point—whether God, whose Presence in the Church the nation and government acknowledged, should by her ministers instruct them in the motives, means, and objects, whereby they were to be guided in ruling for Him, or living to Him. The true doctrine of the standing of the Church,—not an intellectual speculation, but a living reality addressed to the consciences of men,—would have preserved its ministers from the grovelling ambition of usurping power in the State, and would have rendered it impossible and unnecessary, that the authority of the State should have been admitted in spiritual matters.

But when the Christian community contentedly suffered the Apostleship to die away, and had satisfied themselves that *their sin* was God's will; when the actual exercise of the power of delivery over to Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, was to be supplied by excommunication, and delivery over to the temporal power; and when the authority of apostolic decision was exchanged for that of Synods of bishops, in whose numbers consisted their sole authority in this behalf;—these weapons, as we have seen, were unequal to the contest, where bishop contended against bishop, and synod against synod. If unity, or rather uniformity its outward expression, were to be preserved (and unity was yet considered an essential mark of the true Church), the only apparent means (God's ordinances having failed) were a resort to the civil power:—the immediate

consequence of this was to make the civil power supreme arbiter in matters of faith ; and the Emperor seated in a Council of bishops, became the spiritual as well as the temporal head.

And that this is the true state of the case, whatsoever pretext or colour may be given to it, is proved by the results. If the Emperor was Arian, the Bishops, who were allowed to retain their sees, were Arian ; if orthodox, orthodoxy was re-established. When the Emperor became Pagan, it is well known that the Church was unaffected in its internal relations, whatever was the consequence to its external dignity or power. At length, on the decay of the imperial power, and the division of the empire into many states, the Bishop of Rome, being Priest of the chief city, and illustrious as the Bishop of that portion of the Catholic Church where unity and orthodoxy had been longest, and most successfully, contended for, sought to effect an unity, by again anticipating, though in an opposite form, the kingdom of Christ, and by setting a Priest upon the throne.

Whatever were the motives of those who first promoted the appeal to the civil power, or the advancement of the Bishop of Rome,—whether it was spiritual intolerance, or zeal for God's truth in the former case, or spiritual ambition, or any better motive in the latter,—at least the principle, that unity was a *sign* of the true Church, and therefore should be visible, lay at the foundation of all their endeavours. Unity they never could attain : it never shall be attained, except through the indwelling of God ; for which Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors (Apostles and Prophets being the root of the others) were given. This striving for uniformity was at least an acknowledgment of what the Church should be ; the homage which, fallen from their spiritual standing, the baptized yet paid to the truth, which they should have realized and manifested. But while the principle was admitted, instead of repenting of the past and seeking

God's returning grace, they resorted to means, which themselves became the instruments of corruption : first of all, the abandonment and voluntary abdication of the true standing of a Church, from the consequences whereof they were only preserved by the breaking up of the Empire, the reed whereon they leaned ;—and next, the usurping by the Bishop of Rome of the twofold prerogative of the Lord—claiming to be universal Bishop, and to be Prince of the kings of the earth, exercising the privilege of electing and deposing emperor and king, and of imposing tribute on all nations. The former claim was no sooner made, than repudiated and protested against by the whole Church, although by degrees acquiesced in ; and the result of both these usurpations, and of the interference of the Civil power in the affairs of the Church, in the history of Christendom, has been the continual struggle between the temporal power and the spiritual, in mutual aggression. The Emperor on the one hand, proceeding from the right of convoking and presiding in Councils of the Church, to which the Rulers of the Church for their own purposes had themselves invited him, to claim the right of confirming the election of the Pope and other Patriarchs. And again, on the division of the empire into many kingdoms, their kings claiming the right of the investiture of Bishops, setting aside the election of the inferior clergy, and, though temporal rulers only, stretching forth their hands to bestow the symbols of spiritual offices in the Church. The Clergy on the other hand claiming, and in great part effecting, their exemption from the Civil Courts, and from taxation or political control on the part of the State, and proceeding in some cases to depose Kings. And, lastly, the Bishop of Rome, availing himself of these mutual aggressions and usurpations, transferred the fruits thereof to himself, to strengthen his political supremacy and to establish his power over all the other Bishops of the Christian Church,—and yet, not undisturbed in the enjoyment of his authority thus obtained, was compelled at one time to yield to the Bishops of

a national Church, as in the case of the Gallican Church,—at another time to grant to the civil power the right of nominating to ecclesiastical office, and thus of being the organ of the Holy Ghost.

Such has been the external aspect of the Church, flowing by necessary consequence from the rejection of the external ministries and visible memberships of the Body of Christ;—the internal condition also we have already developed.

And to this very day the same evils, internal and external, have continued to work;—the spiritual life all but extinct, and the baptized resorting to fleshly devices for expressing the decaying reality. Thus it is that, Spiritual rule in Doctrine and in Discipline—ruling in the Holy Ghost—being unknown, there has been a seeking to secular means, for establishing both the one and the other. Thus it is that the high and heavenly mystery of the Communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ hath been transmuted and debased into a visible and earthly thing. The purity, the virginity,¹ of the followers of the Lamb, into an outward affectation thereof by forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats.² The glorious reality of the Communion of Saints, into outward and superstitious acts of veneration to the images or relics of the departed. The exercise, by Apostles in the Holy Ghost, of spiritual chastisement, into the notion of a purgatory, wherein the redeemed Children born of the Holy Ghost are yet to be purged from sin. The mystery of the Church, the Kingdom, brought out into this age before the resurrection—the regeneration—the period of the manifestation of the Sons of God and the heirs of the Kingdom. And all this, with the hollow consciousness that they are not what they assume to be, and the inability to stand up in the fearless majesty of truth, demonstrated by the recourse had to

¹ Rev. xiv. 4.

² 1 Tim. iv. 3.

persecutions and acts of monstrous cruelty and wickedness, surpassing the deeds of any other class of men. But yet through all these corruptions and forms of wickedness hath the Roman Catholic Church been a witness to God—a witness for the unity of the Church, in faith, in government, in worship ; a witness that there is a reality in the Sacraments, that they are not mere forms. She preserved the very name of religion through the period of Pagan and Arian barbarism. She was the means of rolling back the tide of Mahometan invasion. She hath been the faithful Defender of the Orthodox doctrine in many ages—and in all ages, of the true and Catholic doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Would that those who separated from her had confined their opposition to those points wherein she had erred ; and had not contended for doctrines and principles, which are working deeper corruption and more surely undermining the faith, leavening the whole mass of Christendom with an infidelity which is most surely preparing the way for Antichrist, and which results immediately from these principles, and not merely from the revolution of feeling produced by the errors just described.

The prominent point of doctrine whereon the schism took place between the Greek and Roman Churches, namely, the Procession of the Holy Ghost, is not a dispute about words, but is of the very vitals of Christianity. For the denial, that the Holy Ghost proceedeth not only from the Father, but from the Father and the Son, is a virtual, though not perhaps apparent, denial that the Lord Jesus Christ is the Baptizer with the Holy Ghost,—is a denial that the Church, which is the Temple of the Holy Ghost, is the Body of Christ ; and involves in it, that those who receive the gift of the Holy Ghost for the work of the ministry are not the ministers of Christ ; and that those who receive the Holy Ghost as baptized men, to all of whom the promise is made, are not witnesses to Him who is risen to the

right hand of the Father. To the Son the signs and wonders and gifts of the Holy Ghost witness not, if so be that the Holy Ghost proceed not from the Father and the Son—if so be that the Holy Ghost be not the Spirit of the Son, the Spirit of Him who is the Truth. The error in doctrine, therefore, of the Greek Church affects the whole standing of the Church as a body, and of every baptized man as a member of Christ. And so it is by exact and just retribution that, as a body, and as one great division of the Christian Church, they are found this day in their internal condition more devoid of spiritual life, of intelligent devotion, of vital religion, than any other body of Christians. And in their external relations their ordinances for ministry have less of the standing of the Church, and their ecclesiastical rulers are victims of greater oppression from the secular arm, than any other ;—whether they be seen in Russia, their interests regulated and themselves governed by a political board ; or whether they are beheld in Turkey and the East, the prey of the Ottoman, and kept in existence only because a serviceable engine for state purposes, and a convenient pledge for the political fidelity of their flocks.

The Protestants, on the other hand (we speak of them as a body, and as regards the tendency and present operation and influence of the principles generally admitted by them), object indeed to the errors and corruptions in doctrine and practice which exist in the Church of Rome ; but their opinions and conduct, carried into the opposite extreme, for the most part involve the denial (which by many is openly and boastfully avowed) of the essential or even occasional visibility of the Church ; of the reality of God's ordinances therein ; or of the Sacraments, as anything more than mere conventional symbols : and while in words they admit the Catholic doctrine of the procession of the Holy Ghost as a Divine Person from the Father and the Son, they carry out under a more subtle form

the error of the Greek Church, counting the work of the Holy Ghost in the Church to be little more than the emanation of an influence from God : and substituting a traditional doctrine,—a metaphysical or sentimental notion,—in the place of the true doctrine of the Incarnation and of the abiding existence of the God-Man and His union with His Church ; they have well nigh lost all faith, that He really liveth on the throne of His Father, and speaketh to us from Heaven by the Holy Ghost through the ministries of His Church.

The Protestant Reformers, even in the beginning, attained not to unity among themselves ; they builded not one Church out of the apostacy, but added many sects to the Babylon which they found ; they contented themselves with founding systems, and sought to build the Church on doctrines and creeds, instead of looking to God to build up His Temple on living men standing in His ordinances. The leading bodies of Protestants, in defending themselves against the political power of the Roman Catholics, soon made alliances with the rulers of the State, each apart from the others, and each in order to establish their own system in their respective and limited spheres—and these have manifested the same evils which exist in the Greek Communion, life almost extinct, and the Church of God trampled under-foot, or only treated as the handmaid of the State—while the numerous sects, which separated from them, have given wild loose to the spirit of lawlessness and insubordination, and of rejection of all authority whether in the Church or in the State. The history of Protestantism has been an history, not of the one Church, but of many sects ; not of one faith, one hope, one baptism, but of many faiths, many hopes, many baptisms.—They have not dwelt together as brethren, eating and drinking in one holy place ; but they have separated from each other, biting and devouring one another. The Church was one in the beginning through the indwelling of the Comforter ; afterwards

it was bound together by ambition and cruelty ; but since the Reformation there has been no manifested oneness at all, but a mass of opposing sects, each contradicting the others, their only claim to union being in the Scriptures, as the standard of truth ; while they prove the fallacy of their claim, by each referring to the Scriptures in support of their peculiar and, many times, contradictory tenets.

From a very early period, the careless and unsanctified deportment of multitudes professing the reformed doctrines too plainly betrayed that they welcomed the Reformation, rather as an emancipation from the trammels placed by what they designated as the Papal system upon the indulgence of their unrestrained wills, than as a true freedom of the spirit from the thralldom of Satan. The recourse now had to the sword, the interference of the Reformed princes and ecclesiastics in the internal broils of Germany, and the prominent features of the religious wars of France—their leaders, their captains, and their armies—clearly enough revealed how low their spiritual standing : lastly, the undue importance which the right of private judgment insensibly, nay almost unavoidably, assumed among those, who contended for right and truth against darkness and error, and who exercised that right without restraint, apart from the discipline of God's house or the voice of His Spirit, to humble, cleanse, and keep them, discloses the deep-seated root of that spirit of Antichrist, which has been of late so rapidly, and, to those who will observe, so palpably developed in every department of life. For by this principle, as now interpreted, every individual is constituted a judge of himself, and a despiser of all judgment and authority in king and priest, magistrate and master, husband and parent—a censor of all things around him and above him—his own sufficient guide and keeper and teacher, having a heart lifted above God's word, of which he is the interpreter to himself, instead being subject to it—dishonouring

the Head of the body by despising every ordinance, save as it is the object of his idolatry. Nor, in the midst of the political and intellectual partisanship, into which the Reformed Churches have sunk, do the late revivals, real or supposed, materially alter the picture. The very principle of evangelical revival, as it is called, is not the restoration of the baptized to the healthy exercise of all the proper functions of the Church of God, but the substitution for her of other agents individual or confederate ; men not called of God, or religious societies, supplanting the Church in the exercise of her remaining offices and gifts, by means devised of men ; missionaries, male, and even female, commissioned by voluntary associations ; and the Bible, which God hath entrusted to the Church, and which should, by her authority and with her blessing, be presented to all her children, circulated as a dead letter, like merchandise, and thus made the instrument of denying that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, to whom its pages witness as the only Saviour.

And now, reviewing the condition of Christians, regarding them as God regards them as a whole, forgetting all their divisions and sects and denominations, all equally remote from the one original frame and true constitution of the Church, and knowing but one characteristic, the Baptized—we shall find in the two most prominent of its main divisions the strivings of the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of God, in the whole Church for fulfilling that twofold work (the communicating of His life and the dispensing thereof in living witness), whereby God would perfect the body of His Christ. We shall see also the twofold strugglings of the mystery of iniquity, in counteracting and perverting both of these, in order to prepare the Church and the world for the revelation of that Wicked one, the predicted Antichrist. For Roman Catholic and Protestant are not names of *Two Churches*, but the expression of what is in the body, whether good or evil. So that there is no error and no

truth in the one, which is not in the other, of these divisions, though the form of its manifestation may be very different, and though the characteristics or prominent points in each are opposed. And what we shall say in reference to these two divisions, will be found to comprise all which need be said on this subject as regards the third great division of the baptized, the Greek Communion.

The Roman Catholic Church has aimed at the preservation of the Church's *unity*, in her forms, constitution, and doctrine. In her alone has there been seen a witness that the Church is one, the activity of the principle that unity is its essential character, or the continued effort to preserve it. Her witness is the witness of the whole, that the Church is *one*. Protestantism is the history of the Church's effort to maintain *the Life of God*, with which she was at first entrusted, and of the strugglings of a consciousness to the need of something beyond mere unity. Her witness is the Church's witness *to the Life of God*.

And further, as the witness respectively borne by these two portions of the universal Church is of a different kind, so the sin, whereby the witness of each fails to be true, is of a different character. The sin of the Church of Rome is, that, in seeking to preserve *Unity*, she has had little or no regard to the preservation of the *Life of God* in the Church. She has preferred the means to the end, and, in order to effect an apparent unity, has substituted an outward uniformity; and this she has effected, in spite of innumerable divisions still existing within, not by the communication of one Life going forth to every part, but by anathemas and excommunications, by oppression and violence; and so it is a counterfeit unity—an *unity of death*. Whilst the Protestant Church has sought to maintain *the Life*, by other means than those of God's appointment, for individual and selfish ends, and it may be said to the total setting aside

of the Church of God ; she has maintained the Life, but to exercise it in separateness and schism.

The one is the purchase of *Unity* at the expense of *Life*, the other the forfeiture of *Life* through despising the Church, the Body of the Lord, without which the *Life*, under the name of spirituality, is but a dream of mysticism. The evils embodied in the Protestant system exist, because there is among the baptized the endeavour to maintain *Life* independently of the Church, the ordinance of God for that end. Those in the Papal system exist, because there is the love of form with indifference to the *Life*. And thus the Papacy preferring the means before the end, and Protestantism seeking the end without the means, both fail of being true witnesses for God,—both tend to bring about and to exhibit the fallen and ruined condition of the baptized.

The effects consequent in the universal Church are such as we have described : ignorance and unholiness and superstition, in the first place, working their baneful influence, until the Church was seen oppressed under the sensual, profane, and venal condition presented in the centuries preceding the Reformation ; and then, from the long slumber under outward form, during which the *Life* was fast ebbing all the while, the bursting forth of independence first, and then of the pervading spirit of schism. And when all these opposing but equally fatal principles have been together at work,—light and ignorance, self-sufficiency and superstitious prostration, lawlessness and priestcraft,—the inevitable result is Infidelity, which is more nearly allied to superstition on the one hand and religious enthusiasm on the other, than the prominent features of each would at first indicate.

While some of the Protestant bodies avoiding the kingship of the Pope have fallen into the priesthood of the King,

avowedly submitting spiritual offices to his nomination, and suffering without protest the property of the Church to be seized by rapacious rulers as the price of obtaining their support ; others have rejected the very notion of government in the universal Church, and have sought to emancipate each little knot and congregation from all connection with any other, and, under the mask of Christian liberty and the right of private judgment, have brought into states, as well as into churches, the hatred of all rule and the rejection of all authority. Under the form of personal religion, and communion with the Head unseen, they rend without scruple His body, part His garments, and cast lots for His vesture ; they set up the phantom of an invisible Church, and a mysterious unity, which does not even profess, like that of the Roman Catholic, to stand in the ordinances of God.

And the Protestant Governments for the most part, deriving and defending their disregard of the holy ordinances of the Church from the failure to vindicate and maintain them, have used the Churches in their dominions for their own purposes ; have interfered with unholy patronage, introducing, into places in the Church, men who had nothing but friends or bare learning to recommend them ; and at length, ignorant that the Church is one body and not many, and hath one doctrine and not many, they are now exposing their subjects to be drawn aside by every wandering adventurer in the trade of preaching, the wickedest of all trades. And the people thus on all hands, taught by the examples of their superiors, and many times by the precepts of their instructors, that they are competent and entitled to form opinions on all matters of politics and religion, that the denial of such claims is tyranny and ignorance, and that the unbridled use of the tongue is their inalienable birthright, have cast off the fear of God, and are ready to overthrow every barrier which religion or constituted

government can oppose to them, and to reduce into practice the theories ostentatiously set forth by the speculative, and the principles, alas ! actuating all classes of the community throughout Christendom.

We say throughout Christendom : for it is not among Protestants only that these principles are in operation ; all classes of those in authority, whether in the Church or in the State, are courting the people ; even those who in private are the most attached to the principles of reverence, of authority, and of piety, which consecrate the King and the Priest in the heart of man, conceal their opinions from the sight of men in deference to the public voice ; and adopting that petty wisdom of the present age, *expediency*, effectually assist to swell the note of that great lie of Satan which is now re-echoed from land to land throughout Christendom, that "the people are the source of legitimate power." And so it is, the favour of the people is sought, and the avowal of truth is restrained ; and the thought, that the Ruler is the ordinance of God, departs from his own breast, as it hath departed from the breasts of his subjects ; and the authority of the Church, in its relation to the State, is no more to be the teacher of kings and people, but is just limited to the degree of political influence which she may possess ; and her ceremonies and services, on all state occasions, are no longer looked to as conveying a special blessing, but are either disappearing, or only retained as part of an empty pageantry.

And so it is that, among the improvements of the age, the payment of Tithes to God's Altar must be abolished. In some countries they have fallen into desuetude—the Reformed Clergy fearing to stand upon their right. In others they have been swept away by the lawless violence of revolution, and cannot be re-established. And now the last remaining remnant is demanded under the specious argument, that modern maxims of

Political Economy demand the sacrifice, that tithes are a partial tax, and injurious to agriculture. The fact, that this argument hath any truth in it, is the standing evidence of the Apostacy of Christendom from the faith of their Forefathers. They are an unequal tax on land, because St. Augustine's¹ charge to the faithful to give Tithe, not only of their annual produce, but of their daily gains, is no longer the principle nor the practice of Christians. When the piety of our forefathers, by collective and national acts, dedicated their Tenth unto the Lord, the riches of the Roman Empire had disappeared, and it is not too much to say, that no other sources of wealth were in existence but the produce of the earth ; and therefore, and because equitable laws could not well apply to other descriptions of property, the letter of the statutes of all nations referred to nothing else but the produce of land. But now (when, in reward of the piety of the nations of Christendom, God hath increased their riches of every kind beyond all example of earlier history) even where the *letter* of the law remains uncanceled, the *spirit* wherein tithes were dedicated is departed ; and so, instead of the faithful giving tithes of all they possess, their posterity have restricted themselves to the mere obligation of the letter, and have, by their own act of withholding the tenth of their other property, made the tithe from the land to seem an unequal impost. Meanwhile the national acknowledgment of God, expressed in paying to His Church that portion which He hath undoubtedly reserved unto Himself in giving the Earth and its Fruits unto the children of men (for tithes are more ancient than the law of Moses, and have ever been the acknowledgment made by the faithful to God as the giver of all), is exchanging everywhere for scanty provisions, annually doled

¹ Præcidite ergo aliquid, et deputate aliquid fixum, vel ex annuis fructibus, vel ex quotidianis quæstibus vestris. . . . Decimas vis? Decimas exime, quanquam parum sit.—Aug. Com. in Psalm cxlvi. Quod cumque te pascit, ingenium Dei est ; et inde Decimas expetit, unde vivis ; de militiâ, de negotio, de artificio redde decimas.

out from motives of expediency or bounty, not by right : and the Priests of God are becoming pensioners of the State. The history of Europe is showing, and will yet more fearfully demonstrate, that for these things the judgment of God tarrieth not ; as saith the prophet Malachi, tracing the sin from its origin, giving intimation of the only remedy, and predicting the proud answer of Christendom to the charges of the Lord : “ Even from the days of your Fathers ye are gone away from *Mine ordinances*, and have not kept them. Return unto Me, and I will return unto you, saith the Lord of Hosts. But ye said, Wherein shall we return ? Will a man rob God ? Yet ye have robbed Me. But ye say, Wherein have we robbed Thee ? In *tithes* and *offerings*. Ye are cursed with a curse : for ye have robbed Me, even this whole nation.”¹

The next step in this fearful descent is, the principle that the State shall consider and act towards all forms of religion on a footing of perfect equality, and either bestow on each sect a similar bounty in proportion to its numbers, or leave each to maintain its own Ministers. In either of these cases the State ceases to recognize the Church of God ; but in the latter it ceases also to recognize either God or religion. In the former case the State ceases to be Christian, in any *proper* sense of the word : in the latter it proclaims a principle of Atheism, so far as the Government is concerned. God’s truth is one ; His salvation is one ; and in the one Church of God alone are they to be found. They proceed *from* God *to* man, and must be received by man, or rejected at his eternal peril ;—they never can be matter of human choice, nor be decided by mere human majorities : and therefore to place all classes of religionists on equal terms, is a virtual denial of revelation on the part of the State ; it is a betrayal of their trust, wherever the Ministers of religion, who claim to be the

¹ Mal. iii. 7, 8, 9.

Church of God, concur in it ; it is a denial of their baptism in the People to seek it. If the people are not kept conscious of their obligation—if the clergy do not assert for Christ their place, as His appointed channels of all God's blessings, and His Priests to bring the people up to God, they will but degrade themselves to a level with those self-elected pastors, those voluntary bishops, the birth of modern times, who neither have, nor profess to have, any Divine constitution or authority for their office : they will act either as if the pastoral work and all ecclesiastical functions required no gift or authority of God, no delegation from Christ ; or as if their own standing were questionable as the inheritors of that gift, authority, and delegation.

It is true that some Governments have not avowedly acted on this principle, and that the established Churches have reprobated it ; but it has nevertheless insinuated itself into the policy, not only of every Protestant State, but also of every State containing a large proportion of Protestants ; and, even in the most strictly Roman Catholic Governments, the Rulers will be found prepared to avow, whenever they can do it with safety, that the favour to be paid by a Government to any class of religionists is to be proportioned to their numbers, and that the only ground for recognizing a State Church is, that it is the Church of the majority.

Thus are abandoned the only means remaining to Rulers, to enable them to fulfil their duties as God would have them, and to stem the evils which are rushing in on the nations of Europe—for righteous government cannot be administered in the power of the natural man, who is always foolish, tyrannical, and rebellious ; and those Rulers who do not seek to God for the grace of His Spirit, who forget the anointing they have received from the Holy One, will proceed to abuse the authority given them of God, and will become oppressors. And this hath ever

been the source of oppression and misrule :—in Pagan times, because they had not the Anointing ;—after the establishment of Christianity, because they abode not in the grace which they professed to have received, yet neither renouncing nor disregarding it :—but now is the consummation of the sin of the Rulers of Christendom, that they are in their secret spirit disregarding and forgetting, or even renouncing and despising it. And hence the convulsions and judgments overtaking their kingdoms ; for the people, suffering from systems of Government which have not ensured their peace and happiness (and people and rulers alike forgetting the source from whence the reformation of their grievances must come, even God), are rising up with impetuous violence to seek the remedies for themselves, and, led away by the vain speculations of reforming and revolutionizing men, are the ready instruments for involving all institutions in Church and State in one irremediable destruction.

The French Revolution of 1793 was but a partial outbreak of that universal convulsion which is now preparing—the first shock of that Earthquake, which will throw down every civil and ecclesiastical fabric :—Corruption in the Court and in the Church had destroyed the happiness and moral feelings, and infidelity had supplanted the principles, of the great mass of the people ;—and the people, oppressed and exasperated, at last burst through all restraint, and then every evil passion was let loose : wickedness, cruelty, and bloodshed, a diabolical hatred of God, and of Religion, and of all Government, and of decency and virtue, had their full sway, and unheard-of crimes were committed in the palace of the king, and detestable lewdness and outrageous sacrilege revelled even in the temples of God,—Murder became the policy, and Atheism the religion, of a whole nation.

But that revolution rose up in the face of better principles then still existing, the which with mighty force it assailed and

sought to overthrow, but which ultimately stayed its violence. But now the revolution, of which the former was the type and omen, impends upon Christendom leavened throughout with the evil, and sweeps and carries away institutions, whose foundations are already sapped; and that infidelity, which flowed darkly and silently its course beneath through the period of Papal corruptions, which gained strength and has burst forth into the light of day in Protestant apostasy, shall swell out into that third and last flood of Antichristian blasphemy, which shall carry away both Church and State, as visible ordinances publicly witnessing to God, and raise up in their room the ordinances of Hell; mischief shall be framed by a law, and every insult against God, and His Christ, shall be perpetrated, not by the tumultuous acts of infuriated mobs, but by legislative measures, with all the pomp and circumstance of Government, yet springing from the people, whose will shall be all-powerful; the ties of society, formerly burst asunder by the violence of man's passions, shall now be loosed by the impiety of his wisdom; and, the bands of God being broken, none other shall bind men together; every man's hand shall be against his brother, and misrule shall be the law of the world, until all are gathered up under that Antichrist who hastens to be revealed.¹

For we know from God's word, that in the last days—self-love, covetousness, boasting, pride, blasphemy, disobedience, unthankfulness, unholiness, the want of natural affection, truce-breaking, false accusation, incontinence, fierceness, disrelish of good, treason, rashness, highmindedness, love of pleasure,² cloaked indeed by all the forms of worship and godliness, but denying all power therein, shall not only have their votaries as they have ever had, but shall reign triumphant over the minds of men. In one word, lawlessness shall pervade and prevail, tossing men to and fro as the waves of the sea, until it shall

¹ Micah vii. 5.

² 2 Tim. iii. 2—4.

bring forth its concentrated energy in that Wicked, the lawless one, who shall be revealed, the man of sin, "who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; whose coming is after the working of Satan, with all power and signs and lying wonders."¹ And he must be manifested speedily; for amid the increasing tumults and confusion of all people in every country of Europe, in this distress of nations, with perplexity, the time foretold in God's word rapidly approaches,² when the Son of Man shall come in the clouds of heaven to judge the nations, and to set up that kingdom which shall never be destroyed.³ And when He cometh, that lawless one stands already revealed: for it is written, that "the Lord shall consume him with the spirit of His mouth, and destroy him with the brightness of His coming."

And this is the fearful crisis in the history of man to which the world approaches; and this is "the hour of temptation, which cometh upon all the world, to try them that dwell upon the earth."⁴ And "as a snare it comes upon all them that dwell upon the face of the whole earth."⁵ Oh let the warning enter now into the ears and hearts of all God's anointed; for except they hear it and believe, nothing can hinder the Priests of God's Church from ranging themselves under the "false Prophet which rises out of the earth,"⁶ nor preserve the kings of Christendom from giving their kingdom to the Beast which ascends out of the bottomless pit,⁷ and from gathering together under him to make war with the Lamb:—and that war shall end in their destruction, as it is written, "I saw the beast and the kings of the earth, and their armies, gathered together to make war against Him;"⁸ of which kings, it is also written, "These shall make war with the Lamb, and the Lamb shall

¹ 2 Thess. ii. 3, 4, 9.² Luke xxi. 25.³ Dan. vii. 13, 14.⁴ Rev. iii. 10.⁵ Luke xxi. 35.⁶ Rev. xiii. 11.⁷ Rev. xvii. 8.⁸ Rev. xix. 19.

overcome them, for He is Lord of lords, and King of kings." ¹

The apostasy and approaching judgment, the visible corruptions and present calamities, of God's baptized people; the utter dissimilarity of those bodies called Churches, of any one of them apart, or of the whole of them together, whether in outward form, order, unity, and spiritual glory, or in inward holiness, purity, peace, blessedness, and goodness, to that body described under the same name "the Church" in Holy Scripture; their consequent inability to fulfil God's purpose in them, or their duty to Him and His creatures; and their utter unpreparedness for the coming of the Lord, we have now declared; and we cite as our witnesses the consciences of all to whom this testimony comes:—The scornful Infidel points the finger to the baptized;—referring to the Scriptures, he compares the record with the fact, and deduces his argument for rejecting revelation from the practical confutation apparently afforded by those who profess to believe it. The cold and sceptical religionists of the day, differing from the infidel only as one class of theorists on speculative philosophy may differ from another, reduce Christianity merely to a system of ethics, and ascribe all which would convey any higher meaning to Oriental phraseology. And the great body of Christians, without thinking of God's glory or God's purpose, or whether he hath any purpose at all, are pleasing themselves in their various modes of spiritual gratification, or seeking peace to their consciences merely, with no higher views or principle than their Pagan forefathers: for if we will use religion only to quiet our fears, or to gratify imagination, as though God had no interest therein, nor design, which He is slowly, to our apprehensions, but surely working, we in fact reduce it to a christianized Paganism. And not only the assent of conscience to the things we state, but its apprehensions,

¹ Rev. xvii. 14.

defined and undefined—its fears of present evils which cannot be averted, and its terrors because of what may remain behind—these also are our witnesses ; and the restless uneasiness of the world, the never ending and never satisfied inquiries wherefore these things are so, the universal clamour for reform and change, in like manner testify to the truth. But reformation without God, the best constituted government which man's wisdom can devise for Church or State, without the Spirit of God, is illusory and vain, and, attempted without reference to Him, is wicked : it is the act of Saul seeking to familiar spirits, when God answered him no more by dreams, nor by Urim, nor by Prophets ;¹ or, as Nebuchadnezzar, troubled in his spirit to know the dream of futurity, called for the magicians and astrologers of Babylon. But it is God alone "who revealeth the deep and secret things : He knoweth what is in the darkness, and the light dwelleth with Him."² And, because ye are still His anointed, He hath now interpreted the signs of the times, and made known the hidden cause of these evils—the fearful judgments which impend,—the fierce tyranny of that enemy of God and man, the old Serpent, who deceived man at the first, and is now gathering up the deceived to involve them in one fell catastrophe,—and the near approach of Him who shall be revealed from Heaven with His mighty angels, recompensing "rest" to those who are waiting for Him, but shame and everlasting contempt "to those who know not God, and obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ."³

"But who may abide the day of His coming? and who shall stand when He appeareth? for He is like a refiner's fire, and like fuller's soap. And He shall sit as a refiner and purifier of silver ; and He shall purify the sons of Levi, and purge them as gold and silver, that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness."⁴ It is only an holy people who can abide before

¹ 1 Sam. xxviii. 6, 7. ² Dan. ii. ³ 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. ⁴ Mal. iii. 2—4.

Him, walking as "children of light and children of the day;"¹ it is only a people filled with the Holy Ghost, the servants of God whom He sealeth on their foreheads, before the four winds of heaven let loose the elements of destruction on the earth and on the sea.² And that ministry of the Holy Ghost cannot be given, that sealing cannot be affixed, the Church cannot be perfected, except through those ordinances which God gave at the first for that end. But they shall be given; all the promises contained in His word of the Restoration of His Zion, in the hour of her greatest peril, shall be fulfilled; and that purpose shall be accomplished according to His own counsel, and by His own instrumentality, and by no man's devices. God will appear again in the mighty presence of His Spirit; again shall His gifts, given without repentance at the ascension of His Son, be manifested; Apostles, sent forth not of man, neither by man,—Prophets, Evangelists, and Pastors and Teachers, ordained by Apostles,—shall work the work of God in His Church, and minister to the edifying of the body, and the body shall be replenished with life; the dead bones shall be brought together, framed again in their wonted order, and shall stand up a mighty army;³ and the followers of the Lamb, the undefiled, in whose mouth shall be no guile, without fault before the throne of God, shall stand with the Lamb on Mount Zion, the manifested first-fruits⁴ unto God and the Lamb, the earnest of that glorious harvest, when the Son of Man shall send forth His angels, and shall gather His elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.⁵ And this is your calling, O ye baptized, for God hath not cast you off; and this is your hope:—"His Spirit yet remains among us, according to the words of His covenant when we came out of Egypt;"⁶ and Jesus Christ, the Head of the Church, is still ready to put forth His ordinances

¹ 1 Thess. v. 5.² Rev. vii. 1—3.³ Ezek. xxxvii.⁴ Rev. xiv. 1—5.⁵ Matt. xxiv. 31.⁶ Hag. ii. 5.

for this very end, that the duties which He requires of His ministers they may be enabled to fulfil.

And therefore, ye Bishops, fathers of the Church, ye are called upon to present your flocks unto Him, an holy people, who shall be able to abide the judgment, and be counted worthy to stand before the Son of Man : and you, ye Royal Potentates, and all Princes, unto you will God be faithful, and save you and your people from the floods of ungodliness, if ye on your part will recognize your allegiance to Him, and will seek unto Him in His Church. And this salvation is no earthly deliverance, nor restoration of earthly dignity or power. The last notes of the knell of this world's Dispensation are pealing,—the world passes away, and the things of the world ; the only hope is that which hath been ever the hope of the Church, to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, and so to be ever with Him, saved from the snare of the temptation and the great tribulation which are coming upon the earth. But will ye hear? God knoweth ; doubtless many will hear, and all may—and whosoever will, shall be surely sealed from the destruction, and kept in the pavilion of God in the time of evil : but whosoever will not hear, who will not receive God's seal, how shall he escape the judgment written, that "because they receive not the love of the truth that they may be saved, God shall send them strong delusion that they should believe a lie, that they all might be damned who believed not the truth but had pleasure in unrighteousness."¹

But ye, who mourn over the low estate of Christ's Church ; who desire that the baptized should be conformed to the image of Jesus the Son of God, should be seen walking in holiness and love—the image of God restored, the company of the believers of one heart and of one soul, filled with the Holy Ghost ; who, having no proud methods of your own, do desire

that these things shall be effected by God's means, and by none other ; you above all we implore, that ye will not resist His grace which we proclaim unto you, neither let the truth of His purposes, which we have declared, be counted a thing incredible. Refuse ye to believe that God's gifts and callings are for ever withdrawn ; lift up your heads, for in the midst of darkness He causes light to arise ; and the period of approaching judgment has ever been the time for raising His voice to warn, and for ordaining His refuge wherein there may be shelter and defence.

God, the Father Almighty, who holds the hearts of all men in His power, and disposes and guides them in unerring wisdom, pour out upon you the knowledge, and fulfil in you all the good pleasure, of His will. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, your Saviour, replenish you with all the blessings of His goodness. The Holy Ghost, the Comforter, the Spirit of the Father and the Son, guide you henceforth unto the end in His perfect way, to the Glory of God, and the salvation of your souls, and of the souls of all His people. Amen.

**Glory be to the Father, and to the Son,
and to the Holy Ghost ; As it was in the
beginning, is now, and ever shall be, world
without end. Amen.**

END OF VOL. I.

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